ICON PAINTING IN THE CRUSADER KINGDOM

KURT WEITZMANN

I. INTRODUCTION

With rare exceptions, the cultural exchange between the East Roman empire and the Latin West was, because of a feeling of superiority on the part of the Byzantines, a one way affair. Almost as long as the Byzantine Empire lasted its artists were sent out into the whole of the then known civilized world, which was receptive to and readily adopted Byzantine art forms. By contrast, we do not know of any Western artist who exercised his metier with any renown in the Eastern capital. It is true that at certain periods Islamic art and culture had a considerable impact on the art of Byzantium, but at the same time the Byzantine Empire and Constantinople in particular kept themselves almost hermetically sealed against influences from what they considered the barbaric West.

The only periods when we would expect this situation to have changed somewhat, and new conditions to have been created, were those of the Latin Empire (1204–1261) and of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem which, with interruptions, lasted from 1099 until 1291, i.e., until the fall of Acre, the last stronghold of the Crusaders in the Holy Land after Jerusalem had been lost in 1244. Palestine had been conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century, but Byzantine culture had persisted, especially in the cities which contained holy sites. Moreover, it is important to realize that at the end of the twelfth century the Crusaders had wrested the island of Cyprus from the Byzantines. After Guy de Lusignan, titular king of Jerusalem, had bought the island from the Knights Templars and his brother Amaury had, in 1194, made himself king of Cyprus, the relationship between Palestine and this nearby island must have been very close indeed. Ever since Cyprus had been reconquered from the Arabs by Nicephoros Phocas at the end of the tenth century, Byzantine culture had taken deep roots again; in the twelfth century, in particular, many churches were decorated with fresco paintings of a high quality, and this activity continued in the thirteenth century and thereafter.[1] Thus, it is of primary significance that the region closest to the Holy Land with a flourishing Byzantine art, superior to and more widely spread than that in Palestine proper, was the island of Cyprus. When, therefore, as we shall see later, the Crusaders became interested in Byzantine painting, they must have looked to Cyprus not only as a source for models, but as an important center of inspiration.

In drawing a comparison between the two Latin conquests in the Eastern Mediterranean, it can, a priori, be assumed that the impact of the West was less intense in Constantinople than in Jerusalem. This was not so much be-

---

[1] G. A. Sotiriou, Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου (Athens, 1935), pl. 63 ff. Hereafter cited as Sotiriou, *Cyprus*. A. H. S. Megaw and A. Stylianou, *Cyprus, Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes* (Paris, 1963). A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1964).

cause the Latin Empire on the Bosporus was of briefer duration, as because Western influence there never penetrated as deeply as it did in Palestine and Syria. In Constantinople a small class of alien rulers never entirely controlled a hostile country, while in Syria and Palestine settlers in considerable numbers created a broader base for cultural penetration. Thus, it is not altogether due to lack of evidence that our knowledge of the cultural exchange between Constantinople and the West during the Latin Empire is so limited, while evidence of a very lively and diverse Crusader art in the Holy Land continues to mount.

II. THE EARLY UNICA

To judge from those examples which have become known so far, the Crusader art of the twelfth century, until the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 by Saladin, shows a polarity. Either the artist creates a work in the style of his homeland and completely ignores his new surroundings, or he tries to absorb so thoroughly the indigenous style—in this case, the Byzantine—that he all but loses his identity.

The best examples of the first alternative are the marble capitals, probably destined for the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth (fig. 2),[2] which were no doubt carved by a French sculptor in a purely Western style. The only determination to be made here is the province of France whence the sculptor came. Burgundy seems to be the most likely one because of close stylistic relations to Autun and Vézelay. Another such case is the lintel sculpture of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to which close parallels can be found at St. Sernin in Toulouse.[3]

The earliest Western panel we have found on Sinai belongs to this category (fig. 1).[4] It depicts Christ enthroned, blessing, and holding the open Gospel book. The book surely was meant to display some text which, however, was not executed. Such absence of inscription is not infrequent in mediaeval art, but in this instance it may signify that the artist had a language problem and was undecided whether to write in Greek, as he did for the name of Christ, or in Latin. The peculiar quality of the Christ figure lies in its drapery, which is designed with a few, often equidistant, folds having soft, rhythmic lines and in some areas, especially over the thighs, forming large ovals. This style developed during the first half of the twelfth century in Northern France under a strong influence from England, as is indicated by the evangelist pictures of a Gospel book from Liessies in Avesnes.[5] The facial type of our Christ bears a

[2] C. Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1925–8), text, II, p. 298 ff. and atlas, II, pls. 131–133. P. Deschamps, "La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des Croisades," *Mon. Piot*, XXXI (1930), p. 91 ff. and pl. x. *Idem, Romanesque Sculpture in France* (Florence-New York, n.d.), p. 97 and pls. 95–96. T. S. R. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg Inst.*, II (1938–39), p. 8 and pl. 2.

[3] H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, II (Paris, 1914), p. 152 and pl. xxix. C. Enlart, *op. cit.*, text, II, p. 167, atlas, II, pl. 101. T. Boase, *op. cit.*, p. 6, pl. 1.

[4] Unpublished. It measures 28.6 × 16.4 cm.

[5] J. Leclercq, "Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Liessies," *Scriptorium*, VI (1952), p. 53 and pls. 6, 7. H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London, 1954), pl. 132, figs. 298, 299. J. Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 37 and pl. xxxiv.

strong similarity to that of an enthroned Christ in an English Psalter in London which was executed shortly before the middle of the twelfth century at Shaftesbury Abbey in Dorset (fig. 3).[6] One may compare especially the drooping mustache or the short, somewhat scalloped beard. Yet, these comparisons are not close enough to suggest that the painter of the Sinai panel must have been from Shaftesbury or that he was necessarily even an Englishman. He could have come from either side of the Channel, the North of France being as likely a place of origin as England.

To investigate the provenance of our painter is only a preliminary step. The real problem in our context is to determine whether our panel is an import brought by a Crusader to the East, or whether it was actually manufactured there. While the formal vocabulary and the emphasis on strong axiality are purely Western, nevertheless, the picture as a whole seems permeated with a Byzantine spirit. Comparison with a twelfth-century Byzantine Christ from a Deesis composition on an iconostasis beam (fig. 4)[7] reveals that, in spite of a totally different treatment of the body as a physical reality and of the drapery, there exists an affinity in the proportions. The latter are more realistic, as was customary in Byzantine art of this period, while the art of Northern France and England at that time tended to over-elongate the human figure. Moreover, the Western artist avoided all extravagant zig-zagging of the seams of the garments in order to replace an impression of agitation, achieved by ornamental means, with one of calm dignity. In both these respects the artist from the Channel region was obviously under the influence of a Byzantine model, and thus we may conclude that the Sinai Christ was, indeed, executed in the East, most likely in Jerusalem. This conclusion is supported by a small detail: the front of the throne is filled with a rinceaux ornament which was left without color and set against a dark ground. This is the typical "style carminé" of headpieces in Byzantine manuscripts;[8] thus, here, in a very unobtrusive spot, an element which is specifically Byzantine has crept in.

It is not at all surprising that the earliest Western panel at Sinai should have been by an English or a French artist. It fits into the general picture, for in the twelfth century Crusader architecture was predominantly French, the sculpture of Jerusalem and Nazareth was French, and France had been virtually the center of the whole Crusader movement and had played the most active part in it.

The second alternative, that of an artist copying a Byzantine model so faithfully that he all but loses his identity, may be exemplified by the representation of a Crucifixion (fig. 5),[9] one of the twelve great feast scenes arranged on an icon in four rows of three squares each. The iconography is purely Byzantine and it is only in the realm of style that the differences from a Byzantine rendering of

[6] E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century* (Paris, 1926), p. 113, pls. 32, 33. O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, I (Florence, 1928), pl. 42b. M. A. Farley and F. Wormald, "Three Related English Romanesque Manuscripts," *ArtB*, XXII (1940), p. 157 ff.

[7] G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï* (Paris, 1956, 1958), I, figs. 95, 96; II, p. 105 ff. Hereafter cited as Sotiriou, *Sinaï*.

[8] E.g. in J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris, 1926), pl. XL, fig. 2.

[9] Unpublished. The total panel measures 57 × 40 cm.

the same subject are revealed. From several cycles of the twelve great feast scenes, which are purely Byzantine in style and are preserved on Mount Sinai, I have chosen for comparison one (fig. 6)[10] which is not only of approximately the same date (both icons can be ascribed to the first half or middle of the twelfth century) but also of rather modest artistic merit so as to invalidate the possible argument that their differences could be due to levels of quality.

In the first, there are elements—a certain stiffness and lack of articulation in the human body, e.g., in the figures of John and the centurion—which can be understood as the heritage of Romanesque stylization, while the two corresponding figures in the Byzantine example show respectively a marked differentiation between the free leg and the bearing leg and an articulate sidewise movement. Comparable differences in high lights can also be exemplified by the figure of John—what in the Byzantine instance still reflects illusionistically sharp, fleeting light, has in the imitation been broadened into soft, ornamentalized white surface areas. But it is in the depiction of the faces that the copy falls especially short of its model, for here the emotionless stares in the former contrast most unfavorably with the sharply aware and piercingly conscious expressions in the latter.

Basically, we have here the same distinctions that were demonstrated by Hugo Buchthal in connection with the well-known Psalter (fig. 7),[11] produced between 1131 and 1143 for Queen Melisende of Jerusalem. It is true that the miniatures of this royal manuscript are not only of higher quality than our icon, but also closer still to the Byzantine model; so many scholars concluded they had been executed by a Byzantine artist. Buchthal had, in fact, to argue most persuasively—and did so convincingly—that their painter, Basilius, was, despite his Greek name, a Western imitator. Actually, the artist of the Melisende Psalter reveals shortcomings similar, from the Byzantine point of view, to those of the painter of our icon Crucifixion. This is apparent in the infirm stance of the figures, especially of Longinus, Stephaton, and the centurion, whose feet even seem to dangle above the ground. In proposing the icon also as a product of a Crusader atelier of Jerusalem around the middle of the twelfth century, a broadening of our concept of the artistic activities of the Crusader capital in that period is suggested. At this point in scholarly research I dare not make any suggestions as to the icon painter's native land, precisely because of the imitative nature of his work, though use of the Morellian method may eventually reveal it.

A third unicum, according to our present state of knowledge, is an icon with frontally standing saints, three in each of two superimposed rows (fig. 8).[12] The central one in the upper row, taking the place of honor, is James Major[13] and at the left stands Paul. Since this arrangement clearly indicates that James

---

[10] Unpublished. The Crucifixion is the central scene of the right wing of a triptych which, when closed, measures 35 × 26 cm.

[11] H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), p. 1 ff. and pls. 1–19.

[12] G. and M. Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, I, fig. 202, and II, pp. 182–3.

[13] G. Sotiriou read the inscription as S. IASMVS and thus was apparently left in doubt about the Saint's identity. The inscription should, if I am not mistaken, read S. IAC[OBVS] M[AGN]VS.

outranks Paul, it can mean only that the panel is connected with—and thus, in all probability, was made in—Jerusalem, where James was especially venerated, not only because he was martyred there, but because from him the patriarchs of Jerusalem derive their apostolic succession. On the other side, James is flanked by Stephen, the protomartyr, who also was martyred in Jerusalem, and, while Stephen is a common figure in any group of Christian saints, his position here opposite St. Paul gives him, too, a special prominence, evidently motivated by his connection with Jerusalem. Normally, he would be paired with another deacon, quite often St. Lawrence, who, indeed, is depicted on our icon in the lower row at the left.

The remaining two saints point more specifically to the Latin West. In the lower center stands St. Martin of Tours, blessing and holding a crozier, while at the right we see St. Leonardus of Limoges, founder and first abbot of the monastery of Noblac. He is dressed in a peculiar monastic garb which is meant to indicate that of a hermit, and despite the fact that he died in peace, he holds in his right hand the cross of martyrdom. Hanging over his left wrist is a pair of manacles, an attribute which characterizes him as the patron of prisoners. It is quite understandable that during the Crusades, when the exchange of prisoners was a continuous concern, St. Leonardus should have become very popular. While both these Saints are French, by the twelfth century their cult had spread to so many European countries, especially Italy, England, and Germany, that it would not be advisable to draw from the fact of their appearance on our icon any conclusion with regard to its provenance.

Style, too, is undependable as a means of determining the painter's homeland precisely because of the skill with which he imitated his Byzantine model, especially in the figures of the two apostles. Yet, it is not only the Western costumes of the two French saints which reveal the artist as a Westerner, but such details as the thickset proportions of the human figure with an oversized head, and the treatment of the high lights even in the case of the most Byzantinized figures, which lack the sparkle of genuine Byzantine paintings. A striking detail is the all-over pattern on both the dalmatic and chasuble of St. Martin, in which a dot pattern predominates. Very similar patterns occur with unusual frequency in the Byzantinizing frescoes of Apulia.[14] They also occur, however, on panels from other parts of the Latin West, and the possibility of an Apulian painter would, for the moment therefore, have to be merely a tentative suggestion. We cannot even be absolutely sure that the artist was indeed an Italian. A dating of the icon must be attempted on the basis of Byzantine rather than Western development. The very long high lights have their parallel in the apostle figures of the Last Judgment fresco in Vladimir, dated 1194, and especially with regard to the head of Paul where the rather soft high lights on the calm face invite comparison.[15] Thus, we propose a date at the end of the twelfth century for our icon, in which case it would be reason-

[14] A. Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi* (Rome, 1939). Cf., as one of many examples, the fresco of St. Vincentius from the crypt of St. Nicholas in Faggiano, pl. 117.

[15] V. N. Lazarev, История Византийской Живописи, II (Moscow, 1948), pls. 189, 190.

able to think of the year 1187, when Jerusalem was captured by Saladin, as a likely terminus ante quem.[16]

In view of the very great number of thirteenth-century Crusader icons, about which I have already published one preliminary study[17] and with which I do not intend to deal exhaustively here, it must once more be made clear that twelfth-century material is very limited and sporadic. This does not necessarily mean that the production of Crusader icons was actually small, but that very few reached Sinai. Probably communications between Jerusalem and Sinai improved greatly during the thirteenth century. At that time, many Crusader icons were actually made for Sinai, as we shall see, whereas no Sinaitic connection has thus far been discerned for any of the twelfth-century icons.

III. French Masters

In the thirteenth century, and especially in its second half, the production of icons by Crusader artists was so extensive that one can identify several workshops, each of which had a distinct style of its own. These shops must have existed side by side and, on occasion, must even have joined forces for the execution of individual pieces. One of the most prolific of such workshops was, as I have tried to prove in a previous study,[18] very closely linked with the scriptorium of Acre which produced illustrated manuscripts such as the missal in Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare cod. 6,[19] and the Bible in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal in Paris, cod. 5211.[20] The missal contains in its calendar for July 12 the *Dedicatio ecclesie Acconensis* whereby Acre, the capital of the Crusader Kingdom, after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244, can be established as the artistic center of book illumination, and the Bible was in all probability, as Buchthal has made clear, made for St. Louis during his stay in the Holy Land from 1250 to 1254. There are, in its extensive cycle of Old Testament scenes, many features which are related to the bibles moralisées made in Paris for St. Louis at about the same time. Thus, we get the impression that the King himself may have been partly, if not entirely, responsible for the fact that Acre became an artistic center of considerable importance, where not only luxurious manuscripts but icons of high quality were produced.

The establishment of an extremely close relationship between icon and miniature painting rests mainly upon the comparison of an icon of the Crucifixion (fig. 9)[21] with the corresponding miniature in the missal of Perugia mentioned above (fig. 10).[22] The type of representation of the Virgin and John

---

[16] Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, proposes a date in the thirteenth century. He was the first to adduce the Apulian frescoes for comparison, and as the place of execution he tentatively proposed Sinai; however, for reasons given above, we believe Jerusalem to be more likely.

[17] K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *ArtB*, XLV (1963), p. 179 ff.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 180 ff.

[19] H. Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff., 144, and pls. 57a, 58, 59a.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 54 ff., 146 ff., and pls. 62–81.

[21] K. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, fig. 1. Our present reproduction of figure 9 is based on a new negative made during the campaign of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition in the fall of 1963.

[22] *Ibid.*, fig. 2. For a color reproduction, cf. M. Salmi, *Italian Miniatures* (New York, 1954), pl. xxvi.

the Evangelist depicting them with uncommon finger gestures and rolling eyes especially displays features which are trademarks of the same or a closely related Crusader workshop, and which are characteristics held in common with many other icons of this large group. In my previous study of Crusader icons I started out with this identical comparison in order to establish the existence of a French atelier at Acre whose explicit purpose was the precise copying of Byzantine icons. In the accomplishment of this, its artists went much further than the miniature painters of the Crusader Kingdom who, as a whole, preserved in style as well as in iconography comparatively more of their French heritage.

The broad frame of our icon is thoroughly Byzantine in character, with busts of saints turned toward the Deesis in the upper center (fig. 11 a, b). The faces of Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist, and of all the other saints as well, have the unmistakable expressions characteristic of this icon group, with the rolling eyes even more pronounced than in the Crucifixion. The Deesis is flanked by two prophets; Elijah, in typical fur-trimmed mantle, at the left and Moses at the right. The choice and prominent placing of these two Prophets clearly point to Sinai, where not only Moses but Elijah too is especially venerated: Halfway between St. Catherine's Monastery and the peak on which, according to tradition, Moses received the tablets of the law a chapel marks the site of the cave in which Elijah took refuge. Placed immediately below the Prophets on the icon frame are the princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, who are out-ranked by the Prophets. It is difficult to believe that a Byzantine painter could have been responsible for the offense committed here against the order of rank, which, based on the order indicated in the prayer of intercession of the liturgy, requires that the apostles either immediately follow the Deesis or be separated from it by the archangels.[23] Here, then, the Western artist is betrayed by his unawareness of the iconographical rules imposed by the authority of the liturgy.

There are other saints whose inclusion on the frame is a clear indication of its having been created for Sinai, and foremost among them is St. Catherine (fig. 12 a). Here the artist, trying to copy his model closely while being un-familiar with Byzantine ceremonial features, commits two errors. Misunder-standing the pendilia suspended from the crown, he turns them into the edge of a veil, and he places an orb in her left hand. While it is correct for St. Cathe-rine as a princess to be attired in imperial dress, the orb should be reserved for ruling empresses. In all earlier, genuinely Byzantine icons with representations of St. Catherine she simply turns the palm of her left hand toward the behold-er.[24] The inclusion of St. Onouphrios at the bottom of the frame (fig. 12 b), can also be considered an element of Sinaitic iconography, since his heremitical abode is in the neighboring valley, some two to three miles from St. Catherine's. With pathetic expressions and emphatically dishevelled hair St. Onouphrios and

[23] An eleventh- to twelfth-century Constantinopolitan icon at Sinai (Sotiriou, Sinaï, II, pp. 78–9 and I, fig. 64) has on its upper frame John the Baptist in the center as the third member of the Deesis— Christ and the Virgin not being represented, since they are in the central Crucifixion panel—flanked in the correct liturgical order by the two archangels and then Peter and Paul in the corners.
[24] As e.g. in Sotiriou, Sinaï, I, figs. 50, 64 (bottom of the frame), 166.

St. Paul of Thebes as well (fig. 12a) look like the rugged "wild men" who became popular in the Western World in the later Middle Ages. The artist tried to follow very closely a Byzantine model, like the figure of St. Onouphrios on a Constantinopolitan icon at Mount Sinai (fig. 13),[25] where he looks like an aristocrat compared to the unkempt hermits of the Western icon.[26]

Our Crusader atelier was quite ambitious in its effort to copy a great variety of Byzantine models, including some with complex iconography, such as that of the Last Judgment. This was the period when the Last Judgment filled the tympana of French cathedrals and when the imagery of punishment in hell occupied the Western mind even more than the Eastern. Thus, it is not surprising that deeply rooted Western concepts should have crept in even where the artist tried rather conscientiously to follow a Byzantine model. There is at Sinai an icon (fig. 14a, b),[27] obviously belonging to our group, which is composed in separate strips and of exactly the same iconographic elements as are the Last Judgment miniatures of the eleventh-century Gospel book in Paris, cod. gr. 74,[28] the two purely Byzantine Last Judgment icons on Sinai from the eleventh or twelfth century,[29] and the Torcello mosaic of the thirteenth century,[30] to mention only the best known examples. Yet the Western painter made a few changes, some of which, as in the previous icon, must be interpreted as being due to a lack of understanding of the proper hierarchical order of which the Byzantines were so conscious. In every one of the truly Byzantine examples, the twelve apostles sit as co-judges on the same level as Christ, but when they are demoted to a lower zone, as in our Crusader icon, the original idea that Christ and the apostles sit together in council is disrupted. The reason for the change was obviously the desire to display the angelic hierarchy with greater conspicuousness. The third zone depicts, to left and right of the stream of fire, the choirs of the elect, whereas in every Byzantine composition the elect are all on the right side of Christ and the condemned on the left. It would have been unthinkable for the Byzantine painter to have transgressed such deeply rooted conventions.

Other changes are to be understood not as errors but as conscious introductions of Western elements. In Byzantine Last Judgment pictures Christ displays His stigmatized hands equally, while in our icon He raises His right hand in blessing to indicate the salvation of the elect and turns His left down as a sign of condemnation. This type occurs, as an expression of a Western morality, in the tympanum sculpture of French cathedrals, e.g., in the church of St. Foy in Conques.[31] Also Western is the placing of the trumpeting angels

[25] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 77, 78, and I, fig. 62.
[26] For other icons of the same atelier made for Sinai, cf. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, p. 192 ff., figs. 17, 18.
[27] Unpublished. It measures 39.5 × 32.4 cm.
[28] H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIᵉ siècle* (Paris, n.d.), pls. 41 and 81. For the most recent study of the Last Judgment iconography, cf. B. Brenk, "Die Anfänge der byzantinischen Weltgerichtsdarstellung," *BZ*, LVII (1964), p. 106 ff. *Idem, Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes,* Wiener Byzantinische Studien, III (Vienna, 1966), p. 84 ff., fig. 24.
[29] Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, II, p. 128 ff. and I, fig. 150; II, p. 130 ff. and I, fig. 151.
[30] A good reproduction of this often published mosaic can be found in Ch. Diehl, *La peinture byzantine* (Paris, 1933), pl. XXXI.
[31] P. Deschamps, "La sculpture française...," *op. cit.*, pl. 57.

close to Christ, while in Byzantine compositions they are always placed in one of the lower zones where the earth and the sea give back the dead. Western, too, is the placing of the angel who unrolls the vault of heaven like a scroll in the uppermost zone. The omission of the Gospel book upon the Hetoimasia is due to sheer negligence, and one could go on to list other such irregularities. Yet, it must be admitted that the French artist did succeed in producing a coherent and even impressive image in which certain elements, such as the trumpeting angels placed close to Christ, suggest the impact of the Apocalypse, a text which in a variety of ways had permeated the Last Judgment representations in the tympana of Western cathedrals.

It is interesting to note that some of the very same deviations from the Byzantine norm occur in a Last Judgment miniature of an Armenian Gospel book painted in 1262 by T'oros Roslin (fig. 15).[32] Here, too, the apostles are relegated to a lower zone, while the choir of angels, to the left and right of Christ, include the trumpeting angels as well as the one who unfolds the star-studded scroll—a type repeated no doubt merely for reasons of artistic symmetry. Here we are in the period in which Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch, had, at the instigation of St. Louis, married Sibylla, the daughter of the Armenian King Hethoum;[33] and this was not an isolated instance of inter-marriage between the Frankish Crusaders and the Armenians. This opens up a wide field for the investigation of the interpenetration of Western and Armenian art in Syria, in Palestine, and particularly in neighboring Cilicia.

There are cases where the two iconographical realms, the Western and the Byzantine, do not merge, as in the Last Judgment cited above, but remain separate within the same work of art, e.g., on the left wing of the triptych, the upper half of which is occupied by a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 16).[34] This subject is not only unknown to Byzantine artists, but would not have been accepted by them because it implies the equal status of Christ and the Virgin, which is contrary to Orthodox theology. In the Latin West this theme is very rare even in Italy, but quite popular in France, whence we assume the model came. On the other hand, the lower half of the same wing depicts the Death of the Virgin (fig. 17)[35] in a composition which is thoroughly Byzantine. Only small details reveal the Western imitator: the unmistakable rendering of the rolling eyes and the humanized expression in some of the faces, especially in that of Christ who turns toward the Virgin with compassion and sorrow and holds her soul with affection. Typically Western also is the filling in of the background and the nimbi, the embroidery on the covering of the bier and the strip along the bottom of gilded stucco. These characteristics, unfamiliar in Byzantine icons, occur with variations on a considerable number of Crusader icons belonging to different groups.

[32] In the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 126, 127, and pl. xxviii.
[33] S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III (Cambridge, 1954), p. 278.
[34] K. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, p. 188 and fig. 9.
[35] *Ibid.*, fig. 11.

The Koimesis was a popular subject in the Crusader ateliers and, in two of the groups to be discussed, the very finest icons depict this subject. On the icon belonging to the French group (figs. 18, 19)[36] two bishops have been introduced into the scene of whom the one on the left is identified by the inscription as Dionysios (i.e., the Areopagite) and the one on the right as Hierotheos. A third bishop, Timotheos, though mentioned in the text, is not depicted here. The introduction of these three bishops is not new and can be traced back to tenth-century ivories and to eleventh-century miniatures, such as that of the Phocas lectionary in Lavra.[37] Even details like the touching of the censer by Dionysios and the reading of a book by Hierotheos are not new and occur, for instance, in one of the frescoes at Lagoudhera on Cyprus[38] which are dated 1192.

At the same time these comparisons reveal decisive differences between the Byzantine representation and the Western copy. In the latter, for example, Dionysios (fig. 19) is rendered in a completely profile view, which Byzantine art generally avoided, but which helps the Western artist to produce a head of character that unintentionally presents to the modern eye an effect almost of caricature. Here, too, the priest holds the censer higher than in the Cyprus fresco just mentioned, and thus he seems to be blowing and fanning the charcoal.

If it were not for its distinctly Western iconographic elements, and if we considered the icon on stylistic grounds alone, we might seriously doubt whether we were indeed dealing with a Western copy rather than with a Byzantine original. The organic structure of the human bodies, the drapery with its well-placed high lights, and the head types of the apostles are in general so well understood by the artist that they come very close to what we would expect in a Byzantine original. The difficulty is that we have not as yet been able to establish a group of purely Byzantine icons belonging with certainty to the period of the Latin domination of Constantinople. So far, we have filled this gap with miniature paintings only, and these provide quite a reliable basis for comparison, because the two media under consideration were, from the Middle Byzantine period on, so closely related to each other that at times one is inclined to think of the same masters working in both techniques. In the Princeton Library there is a Gospel book, cod. Garrett 2, which was formerly in Andreas-kiti on Mount Athos and which contains the portraits of the four evangelists,[39] of which that of St. John (fig. 20)[40] is particularly suitable for a comparison with the portrait of John of the Koimesis, where the Apostle looks straight

---

[36] Unpublished. It measures 40.2 × 32 cm. The surface was cracked at the left under the impact of a blow, but otherwise is in perfect condition.

[37] K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," Seminarium Kondakovianum, VIII (1936), p. 92 and pl. III, 1.

[38] A. Stylianou, "Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγουδερά, Κύπρος," Acts, 9th International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Saloniki, 1953), I (= Ἑλληνικά, Suppl. 9, 1 [1955]), pp. 459ff. 462, and pl. 153.

[39] K. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6th Ser., 25 (1944), p. 201 ff. and figs. 5, 6.

[40] Early Christian and Byzantine Art. An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 1947), Catalogue, p. 143, no. 725, and pl. CIV.

into the eyes of the Virgin. How much more aware and perceptive is the John of the miniature than is the icon figure whose eyes, like needle points, fail to convey a comparable expression of thoughtfulness. Though in both figures the forehead, cheeks, and eyebrows seem to bulge unnaturally, the over-all impression of the face of the miniature figure is one of pulsating life combined with an inimitable expression of spirituality. The other faces of the icon with their somewhat empty stares are even further removed from the Byzantine model. Yet, in the noble face of Christ does the Western artist almost succeed in reaching the height of Byzantine painting at its best, but he immediately falls short again in his depiction of the eyes of the soul of the Virgin. The Koimesis icon reaches the highest level of artistic perfection achieved within the limits of the French group of icon painters and, at the same time, it is the most successful imitation of a good Byzantine model in which the artist almost completely abandoned his Latin training.

While I hope to have touched on the major problems of this group of French Crusader icons, it must be made clear that I have discussed only the more important paintings and that there exist many more.

IV. VENETIAN MASTERS

That some of the Crusader artists—among them very talented ones—were Italians is beyond doubt.[41] It is only when one tries to determine the provinces whence they came that difficulties arise. For historical reasons, three centers should be given serious consideration, namely, the three great sea powers Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. All three had establishments in the Latin Kingdom, especially in Acre, and had become rich from profitable trade with the Orient.[42] It was therefore natural for them to have offered patronage to Italian artists. Yet it must be admitted that a clearly definable influence from Pisa or, for that matter, from Tuscany in general, though it had the best known Ducento school of panel painting, nevertheless has not yet been traced among Crusader icons. Genoa is almost unknown as far as Ducento panel painting is concerned. Venice, on the other hand, had had long before the closest contact with the Byzantine world and culture, and at the instigation of this great city republic, Constantinople was plundered in 1204 and the greatest part of the loot deposited in the treasury of St. Mark's. However, the cultural interest of Venice was not directed exclusively toward Constantinople but also toward the Crusader Kingdom in the Holy Land, and in this connection it is not without significance that, among the few non-Byzantine objects in the much depleted treasure of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, there exists a Venetian crystal cross with two miniatures and a typical Murano glass paste.[43] Thus, the chances of finding Venetian painters represented among the Crusader artists are a priori favorable.

[41] K. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, p. 182 ff.

[42] S. Runciman, *op. cit.*, III, p. 351 ff., and the map of Acre on p. 415.

[43] H. Wentzel, "Das Medaillon mit dem Hl. Theodor und die venezianischen Glaspasten im byzantinischen Stil," in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer* (Hamburg, 1959), p. 64, 4.

The real difficulty is that our knowledge of Venetian panel painting of the thirteenth century is rather limited and what little we know about it does not permit a coherent conception. As for the end of the thirteenth century, one focal point is the miniatures of the diptych of King Andrew III of Hungary in Bern (fig. 21),[44] a key monument within a whole group of Venetian miniatures under rock crystals; another is a pair of panels in the Museo Correr in Venice with the busts of John the Baptist and St. Andrew (fig. 25).[45] The style of these two groups of paintings is quite different and almost contradictory: while in the miniature of the Deposition a painterly technique is prevalent, in which the modelling of the faces is achieved with dotted high lights, the panel with St. Andrew presents a face in which all details, including the high lights, are defined by sharp lines which, through their almost over-stated precision, achieve a curiously ornamental effect. Yet, such a dichotomy of styles had always prevailed in Venice and persisted well into the Quattrocento and Cinquecento, as is clearly indicated by a juxtaposition of Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian on the one hand, and Mantegna and the Vivarinis on the other.

On the basis of a stylistic affinity to the miniature of the Bern diptych, we should like to attribute to a Venetian painter an iconostasis beam whose Virgin of the Crucifixion in particular (fig. 22)[46] shows not only a very similar facial expression, but much the same placing of the dotted high lights on the tip of the chin, the nose, and between the eyebrows, a technique which can be found in the faces of all the other figures as well. Further, the softness of the high lights on the garments is found, upon comparison, to be in definite contrast to the sharp, crisp high lights of genuine Byzantine works of art. Yet diptych and beam are not only by different hands, but also, I should like to assume, of different periods. The Bern diptych, which can be dated between the years 1290 and 1296,[47] is of more elongated, or one might say, more Gothic proportions, while the thick-set figures of the Virgin and John in the beam point to an earlier date. I propose a date in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, i.e., in about the same period as the Crucifixion by the French master (fig. 9) and the miniature in the Missal of Perugia (fig. 10), to which our Crucifixion is very closely related iconographically, as is abundantly clear if one looks again at the uncommon finger gestures of the Virgin and John. This example of an almost identical iconography in ateliers of different nationalities suggests a common use of the same models and a cross-fertilization which is easily understandable when one considers the circumstances under which Crusader artists must have worked in a crowded community of the rather small city of Acre.

As did the artists of the French group, the Venetian painter of the iconostasis beam imitated Byzantine models as closely as possible, but on occasion con-

[44] E. Maurer, "Das Kloster Königsfelden," *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau*, III, Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz, 32 (Basel, 1954), p. 255 ff.

[45] V. Lazarev, "Ueber eine neue Gruppe Byzantinisch-Venezianischer Trecento-Bilder," *Art Studies*, VIII (1931), p. 3 ff. and esp. figs. 6, 7.

[46] In my first publication of this scene (*ArtB*, XLV, p. 181 ff. and fig. 3) I merely suggested that the painter of this beam "could actually have been an Italian."

[47] E. Maurer, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

sciously inserted an element of Western iconography or invented new details; sometimes he was careless in iconographical matters in a way which would have been uncommon in a Byzantine artist. In connection with the representation of the Pentecost on this same beam, I have called attention elsewhere[48] to a deliberate deviation by the artist, who, in accordance with a Roman concept, placed Peter alone in the center of the composition, whereas in Byzantine art Paul shares with Peter this position of honor.

The scene combining the Birth of Christ with the Adoration of the Magi is of special interest with regard to the artist's use of some very unusual human features based on his observation of racial characteristics (fig. 23).[49] Whereas the worshipping Magus—the old, bearded man who offers a pyxis—is a conventional type, the other two are conspicuously individualized. The one at the right with a drooping mustache, sparse beard, slit eyes, and strange headgear is obviously a Mongol. A first thought concerning this figure was that a Western artist working in the Near East might have been attracted merely by the unfamiliar look and garb of an Oriental, but, if I am not mistaken, there is a deeper significance in his choice of a Mongol as one of the three Magi. Shortly after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244, the Mongols began to invade Islamic territory and the hard pressed Crusaders hopefully tried to achieve an alliance with them against the Moslems. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV sent two embassies for this purpose to Mongolia, and in 1249 St. Louis sent to the Great Khan at Karakorum another embassy, including among his gifts a portable chapel with the hope—based on the fact that some influential members of the Khan's court were actually Nestorian Christians—that the Great Khan might be converted to Christianity.[50] When the move of the Mongols, first into Persia and then into Syria, began in 1256, the leading general was Kitbuqa, himself a Nestorian Christian "who was said to be descended from one of the three Wise Men from the East"[51] and who was so well disposed toward the Christians that, during the destruction of Baghdad in 1258, he saw to it that the Christian churches and the Christian populace were saved.

In the light of these historical events I believe that the artist's intention was indeed to represent the Mongol General Kitbuqa as one of the Magi, from whom the general claimed to be descended. Standing next to him, the Magus with the black pointed beard is characterized by his cap of ermine fur as a Westerner, and most likely in this case also the artist intended to create a portrait; but here the possibilities are so numerous that I prefer to refrain from any attempt to identify this second Magus, whom I believe to be a Crusader. With the portrait of Kitbuqa, the Nativity picture becomes an expression of the oecumenical hopes of the Pope, St. Louis, and all the Crusaders that an alliance with the Mongols would be a first step toward making Christianity the world religion. When in 1260 General Kitbuqa was defeated, captured, and decapitated by the Mameluk General Baibars, the hope of the Crusaders

[48] Cf. p. 21 and figs. 35, 36 of this volume and K. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, p. 182 ff. and fig. 4.
[49] Unpublished.
[50] S. Runciman, *op. cit.*, III, p. 259 ff.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

for Christian unity was shattered. If our interpretation of the Nativity picture is correct, its date can be fixed pretty accurately between the year 1256, Kitbuqa's initiation of the great conquest, and the year 1260, when he died and Islam was again in the ascendency. Such a date is quite in harmony with the one we proposed on stylistic grounds.

Artistically, the painter of the beam must be counted among the less skillful Crusader craftsmen. While his faces are on the whole rather carefully executed, sometimes, as in the case of the angels in the Nativity picture, they are too rounded and too fat, and the proportions of the figures are too thick-set and their movements clumsy. An occasinal carelessness in iconographical accuracy also occurs. In the depiction of the Koimesis (fig. 24)[52] one notes that the group of apostles, usually headed by St. Paul and customarily placed on the right-hand side of the scene, has in this instance been replaced by four archangels. It is true that in Byzantine art of the thirteenth century it had become customary to have a choir of angels join the twelve apostles in depictions of the Koimesis, but to have the angels take the place of the apostles is exceptional. Moreover, to give only one contemporary example, in the frescoes of Sopoćani,[53] from the year 1265, angels, partaking in the funeral rite, hold candles and thus have a liturgical function, but in our Koimesis they hold scepters and orbs and thus pay homage to the Virgin and allude to her as the Queen of Heaven. The Virgin as Queen of Heaven is, however, a Western concept, and the change in angel type may not, therefore, have been entirely the result of iconographical error, but a deliberate alteration.

As a point of departure for the second Venetian group, I should like to use the panel in the Museo Correr in Venice with the bust of St. Andrew (fig. 25),[54] whose attribution to Venice no one has ever doubted. There is an Anastasis icon on Mount Sinai (fig. 28)[55] in which the heads of Adam and Eve, notwithstanding the fact that the latter (fig. 26) is an unusually haggard representation, are, indeed, extremely close to that of the St. Andrew. One need only point out the patternized rendering of the faces as evidenced in the oval-shaped cheeks, or the graphic treatment of the hair and beard, or the concentration of tufts of hair where the eyebrows contract. In spite of these strong similarities, we do not feel it necessary to attribute both panels to the same master; but surely we are dealing with the same atelier, some members of which we assume to have moved from Venice to the Venetian establishment in Acre.

The Anastasis which includes these heads of Adam and Eve[56] is depicted on the back of a double-faced icon, the front of which contains a Crucifixion (fig. 27) of exactly the same iconographical type as the icon of the French group

[52] Unpublished.

[53] B. J. Durić, Sopoćani (Belgrade, 1963), pls. XXVII–XXXIII.

[54] L. Testi, La storia della pittura veneziana, I (Bergamo, 1909), p. 174 and figs. on pp. 118, 119. He dates them to the first years of the fourteenth century, but I think E. B. Garrison, Italian Romanesque Panel Painting (Florence, 1949), p. 107, no. 275, is more accurate when he says "late 13th or early 14th century," thus admitting the possibility of a date before the turn of the century (cf. also note 45).

[55] K. Weitzmann, ArtB, XLV, p. 183 ff. and figs. 5, 6.

[56] Ibid., where the Western elements are described in detail.

(fig. 9), the Perugia miniature (fig. 10), and the iconostasis beam (fig. 22), confirming once again our contention that the various Crusader ateliers must have been in very close contact with each other and have used common models. Around this Crucifixion can be grouped a fairly large number of icons which have stylistic affinity, but which are, in general, of a higher level of quality than the iconostasis beam: a pair of triptych wings (fig. 31)[57] (each terminating in a half gable which presupposes a lost central panel with full gable) on which are represented Peter, holding a scroll and keys, and Paul, holding in his veiled left hand a codex and in his other the sword with which he was put to death. The addition of this latter attribute is purely Western, and it will be noted that the inscriptions are in Latin. The faces have the very same sharp linearization seen in the heads of Adam and Eve (fig. 26), especially the wrinkles in the forehead which form a wedge over the root of the nose. These triptych wings share with the Anastasis panel a dark blue sky patterned with large golden stars, which may have been the device of a single workshop and might, therefore, indicate a common place of origin for the two, but we do not believe that the triptych wings are by the same painter as the double-faced icon: the figures of Peter and Paul, though equally precise in linear design, are less mannered and somewhat more elegant in stance, proportion, and gesture; qualities which are due, in part, to a closer adherence to a good Byzantine model.

As in the case of the French group, one of the finest icons exemplifying the expressive qualities of the Crusader style depicts the Death of the Virgin (figs. 29, 30).[58] Its iconography is very close to that of the former and repeats some of its types, such as the bishop, shown in profile, who swings the censer (figs. 18, 19). Their relationship is so close that one is inclined to conclude that this very picture was known to the Venetian painter. Yet, his execution of detail is quite different: In contrast to the smooth faces of the French master, the Venetian uses his own native formulae, especially in the faces of the two bishops and the three elderly apostles of the right-hand group (fig. 30) in order to achieve the effect of utmost pain and sorrow. To point out once more a small detail, on the face of the white-haired apostle in the center there are the same tufts of hair where the contracted eyebrows meet that we found on the faces of Adam and Eve of the Anastasis (fig. 26) and of St. Andrew (fig. 25).

It can be shown from examples of its use of specifically Sinaitic iconography that the Venetian atelier, like the French one, produced icons destined for St. Catherine's Monastery. A characteristic example is the icon which shows the Virgin standing, holding the Christ Child—who seems almost weightless— and flanked by John the Baptist and Moses (fig. 32.)[59] This type of Virgin is very frequently represented on icons of the Sinai Monastery and in one case, in which the Virgin is flanked by four Sinaitic monks, she is inscribed M̄P̄ Θ̄V̄ H THC BATOV, i.e., the Virgin of the Burning Bush,[60] although the bush is not

[57] Unpublished. The measurements are: left wing 32.9 × 9.2 cm; right wing 32.9 × 8.8 cm.
[58] Unpublished. It measures 44.4 × 34.4 cm.
[59] Unpublished. It measures 41.6 × 33 cm.
[60] Sotiriou, Sinaï, I, fig. 155, and II, pp. 135-7.

5

depicted on the icon. The presence of Moses is self-explanatory, and, since one of the major chapels within St. Catherine's is dedicated to John the Baptist, he too fits into the Sinaitic iconography.

The figure of Moses should be compared with that of John the Evangelist under the Cross (fig. 27), and the figure of John the Baptist with those of some of the bearded apostles of the Koimesis (fig. 30) in order to demonstrate that the painter of this Virgin icon has not yet achieved the almost metallic sharpness of design employed by the master of the Crucifixion and, at the same time, has revealed almost no remanent trace of the comparatively more painterly technique used for the figures of the Koimesis. Hence, I should like to suggest that, according to our scheme of a relative chronology, the Virgin icon be placed between the other two. The reader may have noticed that, in addition to the Virgin icon, many Crusader icons (figs. 14a, 18, 22–24, 27–31, 33–40, 67) are framed with a border that consists of golden diamond shapes and white pearls on a black ground; this border is, in fact, found in all groups of Crusader icons, but not, to our knowledge at least, on genuine Byzantine ones. At the same time it does occur, though not very frequently, on Italian panel paintings.[61] Thus, it seems to be a pattern which some Italian painters brought from their homeland and used in the ateliers of the Holy Land as a characteristic workshop device, and which was then used also in the French ateliers.

In order to comprehend the characteristics of the Crusader style, I should like to compare the Crusader icon illustrated in figure 32 with a true Byzantine one. Earlier in the thirteenth century a set of icons was made either for or at Sinai, each of which possesses the identical image of the Virgin ἡ τῆς Βάτου, but in each of which there is a different worshipper. In one of them the prophet Isaiah[62] turns toward the Virgin with a gesture of prayer. Since it is a picture of average quality, it lacks the refinement of the best; yet the stance of the Byzantine Virgin is sure, whereas the Western artist, in an attempt to achieve a higher degree of plasticity, renders the figure with both legs free, rather than with one bearing and one free leg. There are quite a few such weaknesses in the Western icon, in spite of a much more detailed execution which bespeaks a great, though unsuccessful, effort to imitate a good Byzantine model. Aside from differences in quality, the work of the Byzantine painter reveals a more extensive use of painterly effects, while that of the Westerner is graphic in style; further, on the Byzantine icon the expression of the Virgin is somewhat aloof, while in the Venetian picture she seems to try to catch the beholder's attention.

The most ambitious work of the Venetian atelier is a diptych, the left half of which depicts a bust of St. Procopios and the right half a bust of the Virgin with Child (figs. 33, 34).[63] Sotiriou has recognized in this Virgin a copy of the image on the famous icon in the monastery of Kykko on Cyprus, one of the holiest icons of the Orthodox Church since, according to tradition, it was

---

[61] E.g., on some Pisan paintings. Cf. E. Carli, *Pittura medievale pisana* (Milan, 1958), pls. 11–15; 87–93; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana* (Verona, 1929), figs. 100, 143, 389, 395, 396, 474.

[62] Sotiriou, *Sinai*, I, fig. 163, and II, p. 143.

[63] *Ibid.*, I, figs. 188–90, and II, p. 171 ff.

painted by St. Luke. At the time of Alexios I Comnenos (1081–1118) it had come to Cyprus from Constantinople and it survived many destructions of the Kykko monastery by fire.[64] One of its chief characteristics is the patterned veil over the paenula of the Virgin,[65] and, as is true of all such venerated icons, many copies were made which can be recognized by this unusual veil. The Christ Child, dressed in a patterned white garment, is depicted, as always, in a somewhat contorted pose, with His head turned away from the Virgin. The position of His legs varies somewhat in the copies.

On the icon of St. Procopios the epithet Ο ΠΕΡΙΒΟΓΙΤΗC has been added to the Saint's name. This is apparently a misspelling for ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΙΤΗC,[66] and an error which may intimate that the inscription was probably written by an artist who was unsure of his Greek. Such an epithet indicates that the artist did not depict St. Procopios as such, but copied a particular, famous icon which must have existed in a church dedicated to this martyr. There were three churches directly connected with this Saint: one in Scythopolis, where he was a lector of the church; another in Caesarea, where he was martyred in 303; and the third in Jerusalem. Although it cannot be proved, there is a likelihood that the archetype of our icon was in the Jerusalem church, first, because the latter was situated outside the walls at Siloe, where a περίβολος, i.e., a sacred precinct, may have given rise to the epithet, and, second, because the excavations of the church, whose foundations were uncovered in 1914, yielded a marble fragment with a Latin inscription and decorative carvings from the Crusader period,[67] which indicates that the Crusaders must have been interested in the veneration of this soldier Saint. Especially notable in this representation is the unusual elaboration of the Saint's armor, particularly along the lower right arm where it seems to imitate cloisonné enamels. This suggests that the archetype actually was covered, at least in part, with enamels and other precious metals, like the well-known icon of St. Michael in the treasure of St. Mark's in Venice.[68] Such icons, created for special veneration, we may assume to have been made for churches dedicated to the respective saints. Thus, we are led to believe that in this diptych our artist copied two famous icons, both of which were located in the territory controlled by the Crusaders.

At the same time, it can be demonstrated that the diptych was made for Sinai, as Sotiriou has already indicated. The choice of the saints for the frame, particularly in the Virgin panel, is very Sinaitic indeed, starting with the Virgin in the Burning Bush in the middle of the upper frame (fig. 35). All the other thirteenth-century icons of the Virgin of the type ἡ τῆς Βάτου (fig. 32)— and there are quite a few on Mount Sinai—do not actually show her in a flaming bush, and our example seems to be one of the earliest still in existence to do so. On the other hand, our Virgin who raises her hands as an orant, is not

[64] Sotiriou, *Cyprus*, pl. 116. About the history and legends of this icon, cf. R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1936), p. 302 ff.

[65] Cf. the icon from the year 1757 in Sotiriou, *Cyprus*, pl. 126, which is inscribed Η ΚΙΚΙΟ-ΤΙCCA [=ΚΥΚΚΙωΤΙCΑ].

[66] See also Sotiriou, *Sinaï, loc. cit.*

[67] H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 4 (Paris, 1926), p. 866 ff.

[68] Cf. the color reproduction in A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting* (Skira, 1953), p. 186.

5*

the common type of the "Virgin in the Burning Bush," since this requires that the Christ Child seem suspended in front of her breast. She is framed here by Joachim and Anna to whom the Easternmost chapel in the south aisle of the basilica is dedicated, while Constantine and Helen, who occupy the corresponding places in the lower frame (fig. 36), are the titular saints of the middle chapel in the north aisle. Each of the two imperial figures holds a jewel-studded cross, and this duplication is, of course, iconographically nonsensical, since there can be only one true cross, namely, the one which Helen had found and which in all genuine Byzantine works of art is held by her jointly with her emperor son.[69] The reason for separating Constantine and Helen is obvious: the artist wanted to give the place of honor in the center to St. Catherine, who holds the cross of martyrdom and, as in an icon of the French group (fig. 12a), the globe, an attribute which does not occur in earlier genuinely Byzantine icons and which, therefore, appears to be an invention of Crusader iconography.

The full-length saints of the frame also fit into a Sinaitic program; the top pair, Moses and John the Baptist (figs. 37, 38), needs no further explanation. The figure of John the Baptist is extremely close to the corresponding one in the preceding icon (fig. 32). Moses, however, is not youthful as he is in the Middle-Byzantine tradition, but has a shaggy beard, as he does in one of the icons of the French atelier (fig. 11b) and which is a typical Western feature that can be traced to French manuscripts.[70] At the center of the sides of the frame are St. Basil and St. Nicholas, both of whom had chapels of their own in the south tract—now completely rebuilt—of the monastery, and below them John Climacus, one of the famous abbots of Sinai, and St. Onouphrios, the hermit whose cell is in the neighboring valley (figs. 39, 40). In the case of the figure of John Climacus, the artist betrays his unfamiliarity with the typical costume of the Greek monk: the slit in the gown through which the hand with the scroll reaches is incorrect, and the megaloschema, the embroidered stole, is too short; correctly, it should reach as far down as the knee.

The saints on the frame of the Procopios icon (fig. 33) represent a more general selection and follow more or less the order of the intercession prayer of the liturgy. However, at top center, Christ, depicted alone, replaces the customary Deesis (cf. figs. 11a–b); the Virgin and John the Baptist are not repeated because they already exist in the top frame of the facing wing. Then, placed in correct hierarchical order are, first, the busts of the archangels, next, in full length, Peter and Paul, John and Thomas, Theodore and George, and at the bottom, again as busts, Cosmas and Damian flanking Christophoros. There are in the Sinai Monastery special chapels for Peter and Paul, for John the Evangelist, for St. George and, in the south aisle of the Church, for Cosmas and Damian. This excludes only Christophoros and, yet, it is perhaps more than a coincidence that the only Christophoros icon in Sinai is kept in the chapel of Cosmas and Damian.

[69] E.g., Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, I, figs. 180, 221.
[70] K. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, p. 192, figs. 14, 17, and 18.

Sotiriou ascribed this diptych to a Cypriote artist, not only on iconographical grounds because of the copying of the Virgin of Kykko, but also for stylistic reasons, and he introduced frescoes as well as icons for comparisons.[71] Indeed, there is a linear quality in these frescoes and icons that distinguishes them from the Constantinopolitan ones which continue a more painterly tradition based on a better understanding of the classical heritage. Yet, in these Cypriote icons, painted by Greeks, we find neither the exaggerations of linear style nor the extremes of brittle hardness of the icons which I have ascribed to a Venetian atelier. In my opinion the affinity between our Crusader group and the Cypriote paintings can most easily be explained by assuming that a good many of the Byzantine models which the Venetian artists copied were actually works from Cyprus, which the Crusader artist may well have studied and even sometimes have copied on this island. Sotiriou's date for our diptych (around 1280) fits very well indeed into the picture I have tried to sketch of the Venetian atelier.

V. The Master of the Knights Templars

I have repeatedly suggested that Crusader artists of different nationality and with very different training must have worked together with the common aim of copying Byzantine models as closely as possible. The best proof of this contention is the triptych whose left wing with the Coronation and the Koimesis (figs. 16, 17), executed by a French master, I have already discussed (cf. p. 59). The central panel (fig. 41) depicts the Virgin enthroned with Child, flanked by two angels who stand behind the throne. In my previous publication of this panel, I placed it side by side with a very similar composition[72] by a Byzantine master in order to bring out the essential differences between a genuine Byzantine creation and its Western imitation. In the Western version the design of the throne with a pearl- and bead-studded frame which does not suggest a perspective rendering, is rather unusual. Furthermore, the back of the throne is decorated with a diamond pattern which is embellished with four-petalled square rosettes. Both features occur repeatedly in frescoes of Apulia which, on their part, involve a similar problem of interpenetration of Byzantine and Western art; here in South Italy, however, the situation was reversed in that artists of Greek descent worked in Latin surroundings. Among the frescoes of the crypt of S. Vito Vecchio in Gravina there is a representation of the Virgin seated on a throne (fig. 42),[73] the back of which is divided into three horizontal bands, each decorated with a different ornament which can be described, in turn, as a kind of fret-saw palmette, a diamond pattern with rosettes like that on the back of the throne in the Crusader icon, and a simpler diamond pattern, comparable to the one used for the incised background of our icon. Moreover, the head of the Apulian Virgin also is oversized, the cheeks

[71] Sotiriou, *Cyprus*, pls. 80, 86, 117.

[72] K. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, p. 185 ff. and figs 7, 8.

[73] A. Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, p. 65 and fig. 20.

are round, and even so small a detail as the continuation of the upper eyelid into the temple finds its counterpart in the triptych panel.

Since the Virgin of the central panel of the triptych is so totally different in style from the scenes on the inner sides of the wings (figs. 16, 17), can we be sure that both really belonged together from the very beginning? Could it not be that the wings were added later? On the outer side of the wings are depicted two standing saints (figs. 43, 44)[74] who are undoubtedly by the same hand as the enthroned Virgin and thus provide proof that the triptych was indeed perceived as a unit and that the center and the wings were executed at the same time. The saint at the right is John the Baptist, carrying, in place of a lamb, a disk on which a ram is shown holding a standard with a cross; the saint at the left is a bishop whose name is not inscribed. Both are set against a red background—a feature of Western taste; their nimbi, instead of being incised as in the central panel, are decorated with a stucco ornament of diamonds and dots and the border of the bishop's alba is adorned with a stucco rinceau. This is a clear indication that both techniques, incision and stucco, while unfamiliar in Byzantine icons, were used side by side in the same Crusader workshop. The facial features as well as every detail of the design of his beard, reveal this bishop to be St. Nicholas.[75] Yet he is no longer St. Nicholas of Myra, but, as the mitre and the crozier[76] indicate, St. Nicholas of Bari. It will be recalled that in 1087 the relics of St. Nicholas had been taken to Bari and that, immediately thereafter, he had become one of the most popular saints in all countries of the Latin West. Again, we find here a stylistic affinity to the Apulian frescoes of Gravina where, in the crypt of S. Vito Vecchio, a row of saints is depicted standing under similar arches of very slender columns. One of these saints is a bishop—St. Basil (fig. 45),[77] who wears the mitre and holds the crozier in the same manner as does our St. Nicholas. Basil's chasuble, however, has a dotted pattern much richer than our example, although we shall see that in other icons our painter also used a similarly richly dotted pattern.

The painter who depicted John the Baptist and St. Nicholas of Bari seems to have specialized in the representation of saints in a frontal position. We have by his hand—and this is one of the rare cases where a considerable number of icons can be grouped together as characteristic of the work of an individual artist—about half a dozen icons, all of approximately the same size and with two or three saints standing side by side. Among these icons is one with two saints (fig. 46),[78] one of whom is Symeon Stylites on his column, a figure so similar in its facial features to the St. Nicholas on the triptych wing that, in my opinion, the assumption of a common hand is justified. St. Symeon is accompanied by St. Barbara whose mantle is richly decorated in a dotted

---

[74] Unpublished.

[75] Cf., e.g., the St. Nicholas icon of the twelfth century at Sinai, Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, I, fig. 165.

[76] The crozier has the typical form of the spiral, beset with crockets and ending in a dragon's mouth, a form which is found in a great number of ivory croziers of the so-called Siculo-Arabic group of ivory carvings. P. B. Cott, *Siculo-Arabic Ivories* (Princeton, 1939), fig. 170 ff.

[77] A. Medea, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and fig. 18.

[78] Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, II, p. 169 and I, fig. 184.

diamond and rosette pattern, a pattern frequently found in Apulian frescoes.[79] These connections have already been noted by Sotiriou, who also pointed out another of equal importance, namely, the connection with the frescoes of Cyprus. In particular, he referred to the frescoes of Moutoulla, where a figure of St. Barbara (fig. 47)[80] is clad in a mantle with a pattern very similar to that in our icon. Since these frescoes can be dated A.D. 1280, Sotiriou has, I believe, provided a sound basis for dating the icon in the same period.

The problem that remains to be solved is the artist's provenance, that is, whether he was from Apulia or from Cyprus. Sotiriou decided in favor of the latter, and though I cannot disprove this view, I am more inclined to assume that the artist was from Southern Italy. Important in our context is the expression of the eyes of the icon figures. Symeon and Barbara of the Sinai icon look straight at the beholder, with expressions of human sympathy, while the Cypriote saints, in keeping with all Byzantine art, are withdrawn and aloof.

These stylistic considerations can be supplemented by iconographic ones in connection with another icon by the same hand in which the three soldier saints, George, Theodore, and Demetrios, are standing in a row (fig. 48).[81] Compared with a purely Byzantine icon of the eleventh to twelfth century which obviously depicts the same three saints in an only slightly different order,[82] the non-Byzantine elements here immediately become apparent—the tunics fall almost to the ankles, contrary to the knee-length tunic of the Byzantine soldier whose portrayal, in this as in other details, follows the classical tradition. We shall see the long tunic again in a Western drawing (fig. 62) to be discussed later.[83] Further, the pearl diadem with its pearl-studded arch has no precedent in Byzantine art.

The same type of soldier in identical armor and pearl diadem is found in another icon by the same painter, in which the saint is depicted riding a galloping horse (fig. 49).[84] Sotiriou calls him St. George, though the inscription O ΑΓΙΟΣ CΕΡΓ[I]OC leaves no doubt that he was meant to be St. Sergius. In another icon, again by the same painter, St. Sergius, together with St. Bacchus, is likewise depicted on horseback and in a very similar pose.[85] However, in addition to a Greek soldier saint rendered in the style of a Crusader atelier, in this particular icon still a third element is involved: very ostentatiously displayed is a quiver of decidedly Oriental form and ornament. A quiver of very similar shape can be found, for instance, in the eighth-century frescoes of Qyzil in the Turfan,[86] where presumably it had been adapted from Persia, and most likely it was by a Persian model that our Crusader artist was inspired in

[79] A. Medea, op. cit., fig. 71 (Poggiardo) and fig. 117 (Faggiano).
[80] Sotiriou, Cyprus, pl. 87.
[81] Unpublished. It measures 34.4 × 25.5 cm.
[82] Sotiriou, Sinaï, II, p. 83, and I, fig. 69.
[83] Cf. also the group of warriors led by Superbia in a miniature of the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Landsberg. M. Davenport, The Book of the Costume, I (New York, 1948), p. 143 and fig. 415.
[84] Sotiriou, Sinaï, II, p. 171, and I, fig. 187.
[85] Ibid., II, p. 170 and I, fig. 185.
[86] A. von Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens (Berlin, 1925), p. 48 and fig. 33. R. Ghirshman, Persian Art, The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties (New York, 1962), p. 320, fig. 429.

this particular detail. This is another example of the eclectic tendencies which developed at that time in the Holy Land.

Moreover, displayed as conspicuously as the quiver is a huge standard with a red cross on a white ground, the emblem of the Knights Templars. So intent is the artist upon having St. Sergius appear in the guise of a knight of this particular order that he repeats the red cross on the inside of the shield and twice on the saddle. Since in the icon, mentioned above, in which St. Sergius is depicted with St. Bacchus, the former again holds the standard with the red cross, we conclude that the two icons were made either at the commission of a Knight Templar, or perhaps for a chapel in a settlement of this order. When it is recalled that the Templars were by far the wealthiest group among the Crusaders, being in fact the great international financiers and bankers of their age, it seems only natural to recognize them as likely patrons of the arts who contributed through their commissions to the astonishingly rich and complex production of Crusader icons. It might well be that our artist made some of the other icons for the same group of patrons, although this may not be as clearly revealed by their iconography as it is in the case of the rider saints. I propose to name our anonymous Crusader painter the "Master of the Knights Templars." At the same time, there is no reason to assume that our master was the only one who had a close connection with the Templar order. As a matter of fact, I shall discuss later another icon with rider saints (fig. 64) who also carry the standard with the red cross, though this icon is painted by a quite different hand.

In the icon of St. Sergius special mention must be made of the kneeling donor, a woman in a tight-fitting blue garment with a slit at the side from which is suspended her rosary. On her head she wears the stiffened linen cap which was fashionable for noble ladies in the thirteenth century in the Latin West.[87] In addition, she wears a long black cloak, for the explanation of which Sotiriou refers to a discussion in Talbot Rice's book on the icons of Cyprus,[88] where a passage is quoted from Jacopo di Verona. This traveller, who had visited Cyprus in 1335, tells of the habit of the Cypriote women of wearing black cloaks over their heads as a sign of sorrow for the loss of the city of Acre. While this story offers indeed a plausible explanation for this very unusual black cloak, I hesitate to draw the conclusion that the icon could not have been painted before the fall of Acre in 1291. I would rather assume, though this must remain a hypothesis, that the sorrow indicated by the black cloak was over the loss of the city of Jerusalem, and that the custom of displaying this publicly may have started earlier, i.e., sometime after 1244.

The interest of the Crusaders in St. Catherine's Monastery must have been very widespread and profound because every one of the ateliers discussed in this study produced icons which, on account of their specific iconography, point to Sinai and may be assumed to have been made to serve as gifts to this holy place in the rocky desert. Our master is no exception, although this may

[87] M. Davenport, op. cit., I, p. 167 and figs. 468, 469.
[88] D. Talbot Rice, The Icons of Cyprus (London, 1937), p. 103.

not immediately be evident in another icon of his depicting two female saints (fig. 50), who are inscribed St. Euphemia and St. Marina and were interpreted by Sotiriou as portrayals of these two Saints.[89] The one at the right, St. Marina, is dressed as a nun, while the one at the left, St. Euphemia, is rendered in the robes of an empress wearing a crown and holding an orb. St. Euphemia was not of royal blood, however, and elsewhere in Byzantine art she is always shown dressed like a nun[90] in exactly the same manner as St. Marina. Moreover, a close look will reveal that both inscriptions have been repainted, and, while the right-hand one, i.e. that of Marina, follows the faded letters underneath, the inscription at the left is painted over one that originally was considerably longer and contained a different name. There can be little doubt that the original name was that of St. Catherine; the imperial robes are appropriate to this Saint and so is the pairing with St. Marina, also a martyr from Alexandria. In the great basilica of St. Catherine's the first side chapel in the northern aisle is dedicated to St. Marina, and there exists quite a number of icons at Sinai in which St. Catherine and St. Marina stand side by side, forming, so to speak, a Sinaitic pair. A comparison with the earliest one pre-served, which dates from the twelfth century,[91] again brings out Western elements, stylistic as well as iconographic, in the Crusader icon. Elegance in stance and proportion has given way to complete lack of motion and marked stockiness. Once more the aloof glance is replaced by a homely look in a some-what bloated face. Although the Crusader artist had sufficient iconographic knowledge to dress St. Catherine in imperial robes, he should not have garbed her with an emperor's loros, but with the thorakion, the shield-shaped garment worn by the empress.[92] Furthermore, as in an icon of the French atelier (fig. 12 a) and as in another by a Venetian master (fig. 36), St. Catherine holds a globe which befits a ruling empress but not a princess; it will be noticed that in the genuinely Byzantine icon mentioned above she is shown merely holding up her left hand in a gesture of prayer.

I have entitled this chapter "The Master of the Knights Templars"; in doing so, I have departed from the previous pattern of indicating by the title the locality whence I assume the Crusader artist to have come. While several times I hinted at certain connections with Apulian frescoes, I must admit that in this case I do not feel as sure about the provenance as I do in the case of the French and the two Venetian ateliers. The hard, linear style of our master has affinities also with the icons of the second Venetian group, and while there are distinct differences, it is difficult to decide whether these should be inter-preted in terms of different localities or merely in terms of individual artistic personalities. In other words, there is a possibility that our Master of the Knights Templars may either have been another Venetian after all or, even if

---

[89] Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, II, p. 169, and I, fig. 183.

[90] E.g., in a mosaic medallion in Hosios Lukas. R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis* (London, 1901), p. 37. For full-length representations of St. Euphemia, cf. the miniatures in cod. Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 252ᵛ, and London, Brit. Mus., cod. add. 19352, fol. 163ᵛ.

[91] Sotiriou, *Sinaï*, II, p. 68 and I, fig. 50.

[92] For the thorakion, cf. M. Sotiriou, "Τὸ λεγόμενον Θωράκιον τῆς γυναικείας αὐτοκρατορικῆς στολῆς," 'Επ. 'Ετ. Βυζ. Σπ., XXIII (1953), p. 524 ff.

he was a South Italian, may have had a strong connection with Venetian art. Future research may perhaps clarify the question. I cannot too often emphasize the need for still further investigation of the great amount of material presented here for the first time.

VI. The Problem of Transmission

One of the conclusions to be drawn from our study of the Crusader icons is that a considerable number of painters—many of them highly qualified—were attracted to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and later to Acre, from various parts of Europe, and that workshops were established which became exceedingly prosperous. The close relation of icon painting to miniature painting suggests that these workshops were in intimate contact with the scriptoria of Jerusalem and Acre; indeed, there may have been collaboration even to the extent that some of the artists produced miniatures as well as icons. But while, as Buchthal has demonstrated, the miniaturists worked primarily for the royal court and produced de luxe manuscripts, the icon painters, so it seems, had additional patrons, the wealthiest of whom was the Order of the Knights Templars. Yet, rich as the material is which has come to light on Sinai, we must realize that St. Catherine's was only at the periphery of the Latin Kingdom and that the great mass of Crusader icons must have been destined for the churches of Jerusalem and the other cities and strongholds of the Crusaders in Palestine and Syria. No doubt most of this material has perished, although we may hope that once scholarship has been alerted to this problem, surviving pieces may yet be found. On the other hand, one would expect the Crusaders to have tried to save a certain number of works of art by taking them to Cyprus, where they moved after the fall of Acre. There, in the monastery of Hagios Chrysostomos, an icon of an archangel does indeed exist which clearly is the product of a Crusader artist (fig. 51).[93] It shows the usual linear treatment of the face and the typical stucco decoration in the nimbus. There is uncertainty as to whether this icon came from Acre or was produced later by a refugee artist in Famagusta or some other place in Cyprus where, so we may assume, the Crusader artists established themselves and continued their trade. Actually, I prefer the first alternative, since those Cypriote icons which date from the early fourteenth century show a different and more advanced style.[94]

Even more important than the problem of the proliferation of this Crusader art is that of the impact it must have had on the Latin West. The thirteenth century is a period of intense influence of Byzantine style on almost every country of Europe. Only an astonishingly small number of original Byzantine manuscripts and icons of the thirteenth century has been found on Latin soil,

[93] Sotiriou, *Cyprus*, pl. 124. C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962—1963," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 334 and fig 40. This new and better photograph I owe to the kindness of Prof. Cyril Mango.

[94] D. Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*; this catalogue of the icons of Cyprus begins with that of a Madonna with Child which the author dates to the Episcopate of Giovanni del Conte (1319–1332).

and even granting that some may have perished, we have good reason to doubt that their number ever could have been very great, i.e., great enough for them to have been the sole stimulating force behind the far-reaching Byzantinization of the West at that time. But rather than think only in terms of a few imported originals, should we not assume a priori that in some way or other the sizable group of Crusader artists played the role of intermediaries in the process whereby Byzantine artistic forms flowed to the Latin West? There is no reason to assume that every Latin artist who went to Palestine stayed there for the rest of his life or later emigrated to Cyprus. Some, at least, must have returned to the West and continued to exercise their craft, and, having been thoroughly imbued with the formal vocabulary of Byzantine art, in their paintings they no doubt modified and adjusted the Eastern tradition to their Western surroundings. Perhaps some of the artists brought back their own products, and a Virgin with Child in Grottaferrata (fig. 52)[95] may well be a Crusader icon from the Holy Land.

Another method of preserving the artistic experience of a constant contact with Byzantine works of art was for the artist to record in a model-book the scenes and figures in which he was mostly interested. In this way he could take "exempla" home, reuse them, and make them available to fellow artists. The fragment of one such model-book has come down to us and is preserved in the Library of Wolfenbüttel, cod. 61.2. Aug. oct. (fig. 53).[96] It was designed between the years 1230 and 1240 by a Saxon artist who obviously was interested exclusively in the human figure, its pose, action, and drapery arrangement, while all other considerations such as landscape and architecture were almost completely omitted. This clearly reveals the specific interest of the Saxon draftsman who had set out to learn from his Byzantine models everything he could about the organic rendering of the human figure. Sculptors of the thirteenth century, north and south of the Alps, had already rediscovered the marbles of classical antiquity and studied them for the very same purpose, but since paintings of the Graeco-Roman period were unknown—Pompeii had not yet been rediscovered—Byzantine paintings provided the best available models for the artistic reconquest of the physical reality of the human body.

The models of the Wolfenbüttel sketches were primarily, if not exclusively, Byzantine miniatures. In one case I was able to trace back to a Gospel book in Athens, Nat. Lib. cod. 118, three seated evangelists. One of them—the second from the right in figure 53, holding a scroll and with a codex on his lap—corresponds to the Evangelist Luke (fig. 54)[97] of this manuscript. Almost every fold—even breaks within the fold—corresponds in minute detail, so much so that one is inclined to suspect that some process of tracing was involved in the copying. Nevertheless, I do not suggest that this actual

[95] E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting* (Florence, 1949), p. 57, No. 87.

[96] *Das Musterbuch von Wolfenbüttel*. Mit einem Fragment aus dem Nachlasse Fritz Rückers herausgegeben von Hans R. Hahnloser. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst (Vienna, 1929).

[97] P. Buberl, *Die Miniaturhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen*, Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Kl., LX, 2 (1917), p. 23 and pl. xxx. A. Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures et à ornements des bibliothèques d'Athènes* (Liège, 1926), p. 2, no. 2 and pl. i.

Athens manuscript was the model (although two other evangelists in the model-book[98] resemble even more closely the corresponding evangelists),[99] but that it was most likely another manuscript by the same artist. Now, it is interesting that the Athens Gospels, though certainly illustrated by a Greek and most likely a Constantinopolitan artist, has Latin writing on the scrolls held by evangelists, and was, therefore, most probably commissioned by a member of the Latin ruling class.

The majority of figures in the model-book who are rendered in action belong to important scenes from the New Testament, and in another study I have tried to demonstrate that the chief model must have been a deluxe lectionary with full-page miniatures of the Great Feasts.[100] To this model belong not only the dead Christ and the sorrowful Joseph of Arimathaea but also, at the extreme right, the standing disciple bending over. The original context of this latter figure is no longer identifiable, since figures in similar attitude and pose occur in several scenes of the New Testament; but to those Saxon artists who used the model-book the identity was apparently irrelevant. The miniaturist of the Gospel book in the Rathaus in Goslar (fig. 55)[101] no doubt copied this very figure to illustrate one of the Jews waiting outside the Temple while the angel appears to Zacharias; and he did so because he was attracted by the emotional value of this figure. In other words, the iconographical meaning becomes dissociated from an isolated figure which may then be used in a new and different context.

A full analysis of the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts would involve quite a few manuscripts, chiefly with author miniatures, which were utilized by the artist of the model-book. He must, therefore, have been in a place or places where rich libraries of illustrated Greek books were available. It seems very doubtful to me that rich collections of Greek manuscripts existed anywhere in Saxony; otherwise one would have found more direct traces of them in other manuscripts of the Thuringian-Saxonian school of book illumination. In my opinion the most probable assumption is that the artist had travelled to the East, to Constantinople rather than to Palestine, since in his faithful copies the high quality of the art of the capital is perceptible. If I am correct in my assumption that he was a wandering artist who during the Latin occupation took the chance of travelling to the East in order to study what he must have considered to be a superior art form, then he turns out to be a fellow artist of those Crusader painters who worked in Jerusalem and Acre. They were all striving toward the same goal: to imitate and copy Byzantine models as closely as their abilities permitted.

While the Wolfenbüttel model-book is based mainly on miniatures, it can be demonstrated in other instances that drawings in manuscripts were copied

---

[98] F. Rücker-H. Hahnloser, *op. cit.*, fig. VII on p. 10.

[99] K. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination," (*supra*, note 39), p. 197 ff. and figs. 1–3.

[100] K. Weitzmann, "Zur byzantinischen Quelle des Wolfenbüttler Musterbuches," in *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser* (Basel, 1961), pp. 223 ff.

[101] A. Goldschmidt, *Das Evangeliar im Rathaus zu Goslar* (Berlin, 1910), pl. 7. F. Rücker-H. Hahnloser, *op. cit.*, p. 5 and figs. I and II.

from icons. There is in the Princeton University Library a Gospel-book of the thirteenth century, cod. Garrett 7, which once belonged to the Duke of Marlborough and is adorned in the usual manner with portraits of the four evangelists.[102] The figure of John (fig. 56), like all the others, is a wash drawing in which the head is carefully drawn but placed upon a body proportionally too small. It is a provincial product, possibly from South Italy where the technique of wash drawing occurs not infrequently in miniature painting. On the back of the same folio, there is a drawing of a large bust of Christ (fig. 57)[103] which does not leave much space for the Virgin, whose head is relegated to the upper left corner. These figures obviously were not invented as miniatures and were no doubt added to the pictures of the evangelists as an after thought, albeit not much later, and by the same hand. In the model, the Virgin must be envisaged as a bust of the same size as that of Christ who, on the other side, was flanked by a bust of John the Baptist. In other words, we are dealing here with an abbreviated and condensed Deesis which is very common in icon painting and is usually distributed over two individual icons, as, for example, in the small thirteenth-century icons of Christ and the Virgin preserved at Sinai (figs. 58, 59).[104] While the heads of both Christ and the Virgin are close enough to those of the sketch to support the contention that the latter harks back to icons, yet the gesture of Christ differs, being that of the Pantocrator in the sketch and that of the Euergetes in the icon. The former type does, however, repeatedly occur on tenth-century ivories, where Christ is depicted as a member of a Deesis group and appears either seated or standing, or as a bust.[105] One must bear in mind that ivory plaques too are actually icons.[106]

The use of drawings, such as those at Princeton, as models for Latin miniatures can be demonstrated in one particular instance. In the court library of Duke Fürstenberg at Donaueschingen, there is a Psalter, cod. 309, from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, which contains, among other full-page miniatures, two with very large faces of the Virgin (fig. 60) and of Christ.

[102] K. W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), p. 73 ff. and pl. XII.

[103] *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (*supra*, note 40), p. 143, no. 726, and pl. CI. B. Degenhart, "Autonome Zeichnungen bei mittelalterlichen Künstlern," *Münchner Jahrb. der Bild. Kunst*, 3rd. Ser., I (1950), p. 102 and fig. 30.

[104] The Virgin icon measures 19.5 × 15.1 cm. and the Christ icon 19.5 × 14.9 cm. Whereas the former is unpublished, the latter is reproduced in V. Benešević, *Monumenta Sinaitica*, I (Leningrad, 1925), col. 16 ff. and pl.17, where it is attributed to the eighth or ninth century. Kondakov, Русская Икона, III (Prague, 1931), p. 88 and fig. 4, merely repeats Benešević's photograph without elaborating on his attribution. Other writers also repeat the poor reproduction of Benešević and draw wrong conclusions from it. W. Weidle, *Les icones byzantines et russes* (Florence, 1950), pl. III, dates the icon further back to the sixth to eighth centuries and erroneously calls it encaustic (this error is repeated in the 2nd ed. [Milan, 1962], p. 16, pl. III, where, however, the date is slightly changed to seventh to eighth centuries). W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Ikonenmalerei* (Olten, 1956), p. 46 and pl. 37 C, repeats the same incorrect date (seventh to eighth centuries), and to the error about the technique adds a third by proposing a Coptic origin.

[105] A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1934), pl. X, 31a; XI, 32a; XIII, 33a; XXII, 54; XXIV, 63; XXVII, 69–70; XXX; XXXV, 91; XXXVI, 92a; XXXVII, 95; LII–LIII.

[106] K. Weitzmann, in *Byzantine Art an European Art*, Catalogue of Exhibition (Athens, 1964), p. 141 ff. Ivories.

Haseloff, who was the first to write about this manuscript,[107] immediately recognized their strongly Byzantine character, but, because they were unique in German miniature painting, had no other explanation to offer than to consider them as products of a miniaturist who went far beyond the usual figure scale, and in doing so was not successful. Actually, he believed the heads to be enlargements from miniature heads. Boeckler, in publishing once more the leaf with the head of the Virgin,[108] comes, I believe, somewhat closer to the truth when he emphasizes the icon-like quality of the miniature. In the light of the new material from Sinai, we may not only postulate an icon—transmitted most likely through a drawing—as the prototype of the Donaueschingen miniature, but also suggest that this prototype was actually a Crusader icon. There is among the many icons of the Virgin on Sinai one (fig. 61)[109] with the stucco ornament in the haloes and the dotted pattern around the edges typical of Crusader products, which invites comparison. The Virgin's head not only shows a similarly hard, linear design, but more specifically, the very same treatment of the oval-shaped iris which seems to float in the eye and creates the effect of a glance without focus. Also, the design of the mouth and the ears may be compared to support the contention that a Crusader icon did in fact influence a miniature produced as far away as in or around Hildesheim.

That model-books must have played an important role in the transmission of artistic forms from the East to the West has been realized by scholars for quite some time. Next to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, attention has been focussed on a drawing from a similar model-book in Freiburg (fig. 62)[110] the upper half of which depicts the scene of Christ speaking with Zacchaeus in the tree and the lower half two rider saints. While there has been general agreement that the highly accomplished drawing was executed by an artist from the Upper Rhine at the very end of the twelfth century, the problem of the provenance of the models is still open to debate. Demus,[111] who, like most scholars, dealt primarily with the Zacchaeus scene, emphasized a strong connection with the mosaics of Monreale. This connection is indeed very close, and there is no trace of the German tradition in this drawing; but at the same time Kitzinger has pointed out[112] that the style of Monreale is based on a fresh study of the late Comnenian style of Constantinople, and that artists from the Eastern capital played a major role in the execution of the mosaics. Hence, the differences between the style of Constantinople and Monreale are very difficult to define. This, then, leaves open the alternative that the model utilized by the draftsman of the Freiburg leaf may actually have been a Constantinopolitan rather than a Sicilian work. Moreover, the subject of Christ meeting Zacchaeus

---

[107] A. Haseloff, *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg, 1897), pp. 250, 254 ff. and pl. XL, figs. 93, 94.

[108] A. Boeckler, *Deutsche Buchmalerei vorgotischer Zeit* (Königstein, 1952), pl. 67 and p. 80.

[109] Unpublished. It measures 38.5 × 27 cm.

[110] First publication by H. Flamm, "Eine Miniatur aus dem Kreise der Herrad von Landsperg," *Repert. f. Kunstw.*, XXXVII (1915), p. 123 ff.

[111] O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), p. 445 ff.

[112] E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), p. 84 ff.

does not occur among the Monreale mosaics, and it is questionable whether it ever existed in a mosaic cycle. The possibility must be taken into consideration that it is derived rather from a miniature cycle, just as were the bulk of the drawings in the Wolfenbüttel model-book.

Our present concern, however, is with the lower part of the drawing, which depicts two rider saints, inscribed Theodore and Constantine. The accompanying text gives an extensive list of pictorial themes in which the line "ubi Zachaeus in arbore" is followed by "Theodorus equitans cum alio." Apparently the correct inscription naming the second rider saint was lost. "Constantine" can have been written only by a painter unfamiliar with the iconography of Byzantine soldier saints, in which St. Theodore is usually accompanied by St. George. The youthful features agree with other renderings of St. George who is always depicted as being very young. Homburger, in discussing this leaf at length,[113] noticed that the execution of the two scenes differed, a fact which Demus explains by considering the lower half to have been redrawn in the thirteenth century. However, if we accept this leaf as coming from a model-book like that of Wolfenbüttel, then the possibility must be left open that the scenes were made at different times and at different localities by a wandering artist, so that the evidence gained from one scene has not necessarily any bearing upon the other.

What has hitherto stood in the way of determining the model of the two rider saints has been the confinement of discussion to only two media, miniatures and monumental paintings. In an illustrated manuscript the two rider saints would have no place: in a menologion or any related text the soldier saints are depicted either standing or in narrative scenes from their lives and, besides, they would occur individually and not grouped together. In this respect the mosaics of Palermo and Monreale follow the manuscript tradition. On the other hand, a group of saints on horseback is a common subject of icons, and to me there seems to be hardly any doubt that the lower scene of the Freiburg drawing is actually based on an icon. In this instance again the Sinai collection provides a suitable comparison (fig. 63):[114] a thirteenth-century icon with St. Victor, St. Menas, and St. Vincent who are depicted on horseback in much the same compositional layout, holding their spears as on parade and turning their heads either en face or slightly backward.

Though badly flaked, the Sinai icon is of good quality and pure Byzantine style; yet it could not have been the kind of model copied by the Freiburg draftsman. Knowing from the Wolfenbüttel model-book how extremely closely such draftsmen copied their models—to the point even of tracing them—we can assume that certain elements in which the Freiburg riders deviate from a genuine Byzantine icon were contained in the model. It will be noted that the Byzantine soldier saints are bareheaded, while those in the drawing wear crowns, a feature noticeable in several Crusader icons (figs. 33, 48, and 49)

[113] O. Homburger, "Das Freiburger Einzelblatt," in: *Studien zur Kunst des Oberrheins, Festschrift für Werner Noack* (Freiburg, 1959), pp. 17, 19.
[114] Unpublished. It measures 48.1 × 35 cm.

including another one from Sinai with St. Theodore and St. George (fig. 64),[115] although here only the frontal section of the jewelled and pearl-studded stephane is visible and the rest of the crown is obscured by the mass of hair. St. Theodore (inscribed O A[ΓIOC] ΘΕΟΔѠPOC) rides ahead and turns his head around to St. George (inscribed O AΓ[IOC] ΓΕѠPΓIOC O ΔIACѠPITHC), permitting the younger but more important and more popular George to be seen in full view; thus the compositional layout is very similar. Moreover, it will be noticed that fastened to the lances of the two riders are pennants with crosses which are colored red, and this indicates once more a connection with the order of the Knights Templars. Yet the style is quite different from that of those icons (esp. fig. 49) which we assigned to the anonymous "Master of the Knights Templars." I even believe its painter to have been not Italian but French. The moody expression on the face of St. Theodore is slightly closer to our French than to our various Italian groups, although the artist is a master somewhat different from any of those previously discussed. Important for the attribution of this icon to a French master is the little donor figure kneeling in front of St. George. The inscription reads: ΔΕ[HCIC] TOV ΔOVΛOV TOV Θ[ΕO]V ΓΕѠPΓIOV TOVΠAPICI[OV], i.e., he is a pilgrim from Paris, who most likely commissioned a compatriot painter in the Holy Land to execute this icon of the most popular soldier saints in the guise of Knights Templars.

The Freiburg drawing is the product of a more technically competent artist, who nevertheless shows iconographical features which indicate that he did not completely understand the dress, and especially the armor, of the Byzantine soldiers; moreover to dress St. Theodore in a long tunic that reaches to the ankles is a conscious Western adaptation, as was noted above (cf. p. 71 and fig. 48). This feature occurs also in another Crusader icon (fig. 65)[116] which can be ascribed to the group of French icons discussed earlier. Here St. Theodore is depicted at the left and St. Demetrius at the right, as the fragmentary inscription makes evident, and it is the latter who wears the long tunic of the Crusaders. Some critics of the Freiburg leaf have taken note of the heavy type of horses and of their lively movements, especially the exaggerated turning of the head of St. Theodore's horse, and have explained these features as an expression of German realism. It is true that one would not find this type of horse in a Byzantine icon; and in the rendering of the horses the Paris rider icon with St. George (fig. 64) is even more stylized than are other Byzantine icons, due to some Oriental influence. On the other hand, the painter of the Theodore-Demetrius icon (fig. 65) is even more emphatic than the Freiburg master in the use of the heavy type of horses and their contorted movements. Thus, it becomes more than likely that all the elements in the drawing which are deviations from the Byzantine archetype are due not to the artistic liberty of the draftsman, but to his recourse to a Crusader icon as model. This, then, leads to the assumption that the model-book, of which the Freiburg leaf is a remnant, was designed by a Rhenish artist who travelled to the Holy Land,

---

[115] Unpublished. It measures 32.5 × 22.2 cm.
[116] K. Weitzmann, *ArtB*, XLV, p. 195 and fig. 19.

where, in the established Crusader ateliers, he must have been exposed to a great variety of copies from Byzantine models.

Yet, no matter how important a part we attribute to the model-book in the transmission of Byzantine forms to the Latin West, it seems very unlikely that it was the only means of their dissemination. In view of the hundreds of Virgin panels painted by Italian Ducento painters in the so-called *maniera greca*, should one not envisage a more direct contact for these artists with panel paintings which either had been brought to Italy or which, in view of the evidence we now have for the existence of Crusader ateliers in the Holy Land, could have been studied and copied by migrant artists from the Latin West in places where Byzantine art was native, i.e., in Constantinople and more specifically in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem? The probable role which Crusader art played in this process I should like to demonstrate with three Virgin icons, all of the thirteenth century, one being Byzantine, the second a Crusader product, and the third a native Italian panel.

The first is a larger-than-life-size bust of the Virgin and Child (fig. 66),[117] not very delicately painted, but a typical Byzantine Virgin of the type of the Hodegetria. She looks at the beholder with a slightly melancholy glance, such as many Byzantine Virgins of this period have. The face is designed in calm, harmonious lines, sufficiently stylized to achieve the impression of remoteness which will be understood by the Byzantine worshipper as an expression of the Divine. The long, slightly curved nose is accentuated by two parallel lines which continue without interruption into the eyebrows, a small curve being sufficient to indicate the separation of nose and forehead. Soft shadows at either side of the bridge of the nose and also on other parts of the face preserve the tradition of a painterly style which had never been totally abandoned since late antiquity. The same painterly style can be seen in the face of the Christ Child, which shows a similar degree of aloofness.

In the copy (fig. 67)[118] which a Crusader artist made of a Byzantine Virgin of this type he tried his utmost to imitate his model as best he could and, since he was an artist of moderate talent, he was all the more eager to be faithful. The face is constructed in basically similar forms, but it is rounder and hence without the aristocratic appearance of the Byzantine model, while a more direct, homely look replaces the aloofness of the Byzantine Virgin. Moreover, the painterly quality gives way to a harder, linear style which, however, has an expressive quality. There is no longer the smooth transition from eyebrow to the bridge of the nose, but a conscious interruption. By similar linear means the radiant look of the Christ Child in the Byzantine icon is changed here to a frown. The characteristics of the Western artist, whom I believe to have been an Italian, are evident not only in the more systematic covering of the garments of both Virgin and Child with golden, striated high lights, but also in the addition of a border with the typical diamond and pearl pattern on a black ground—one of the trade-marks of the Crusader ateliers.

[117] Unpublished. It measures 117.3 × 79.5 cm.
[118] Unpublished. It measures 37.3 × 27.9 cm.

6

The third panel with a Virgin enthroned and a Christ Child of the type of the Glycophilousa (fig. 68),[119] the work of an Umbrian artist of *ca.* 1275–1285, shares with the Crusader artist all the qualities of a linear interpretation of the more painterly Byzantine archetype. However, he is much more independent of the Byzantine source and uses line not so much with the aim of transforming a painterly model, but as an expressive means for a more realistic and earthly rendering of both the Virgin and the Child. The bodies become fleshy, the hands of the Virgin big and clumsy, and, with this heavy emphasis on the physical reality, the spiritual element is almost lost. Whereas the Crusader icon is still under the immediate impact of a Byzantine model, in spite of the painter's inability to comprehend its full meaning, in the case of the Umbrian picture it becomes more than doubtful whether its painter actually had a genuine Byzantine icon before his eyes. This, then, leads to the question as to whether, in such a case, Crusader icons could not have played an intermediary role, since their painters had taken a first step in the transformation from the Byzantine to the Italian style, while still under the immediate influence of genuine Byzantine works of art. On the other hand, such Crusader icons as the Madonna just discussed and many others like it reveal all the ingredients of the Italian Ducento style, i.e., those elements which ,when they were applied on Italian native soil, soon developed into an ever greater realism. Yet this Perugia Virgin in no way reflects the high standards which Italian panel painting reached in the Ducento. As usual, it is the artist of inferior quality who depends more closely and more slavishly on his models, while great artists like Guido da Siena, Berlinghieri, Margheritone, and others equally indebted to Byzantium are capable of absorbing the Byzantine influence in a much freer fashion and with greater selectivity.

I am fully aware that in the present study I have only to a certain extent expanded my previous study of the Crusader icons on Sinai, and have not yet given them full and adequate treatment. I hope, however, to have identified at least the leading ateliers, though there are many more Crusader icons in the rich collection of St. Catherine's monastery which do not fit into those thus far established. While, on the basis of the close connection of many of our icons with the illustrations in Crusader manuscripts, we think that Jerusalem and Acre were the main centers of icon production, there is no reason to assume that they were the only ones. Antioch was a most flourishing Crusader center and so were other coastal cities like Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and Lattakieh. One should at least not exclude the possibility that paintings were produced by Western artists in some of these centers, especially Antioch, but so far we have not found any concrete evidence of this. Our speculation as to the possibility of additional centers is based on the fact that the rich array of icons which has recently become known represents a greater variety of styles than the manuscripts which reflect a high standard of perfection but are, so far as we know, limited in number.

---

[119] E. B. Garrison, *op. cit.*, p. 132, No. 348. J. H. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 54–57, 59 and fig. 90.

Moreover, we are not yet in a position to make a full estimate of the role which Crusader art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must have played in absorbing the Byzantine style and transmitting it to the Latin West, where it penetrated in waves into practically every country. When one is faced suddenly with a great wealth of new material, it is only natural that the main task of scholarship is, initially, not so much to answer questions as to raise them.[120]

[120] The photos of the figures 1, 4–6, 8, 9, 11–14, 16–19, 22–24, 26–41, 43, 44, 46, 48–50, 58–59, 61, 63–67 were made by the Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton Expedition to Mount Sinai.
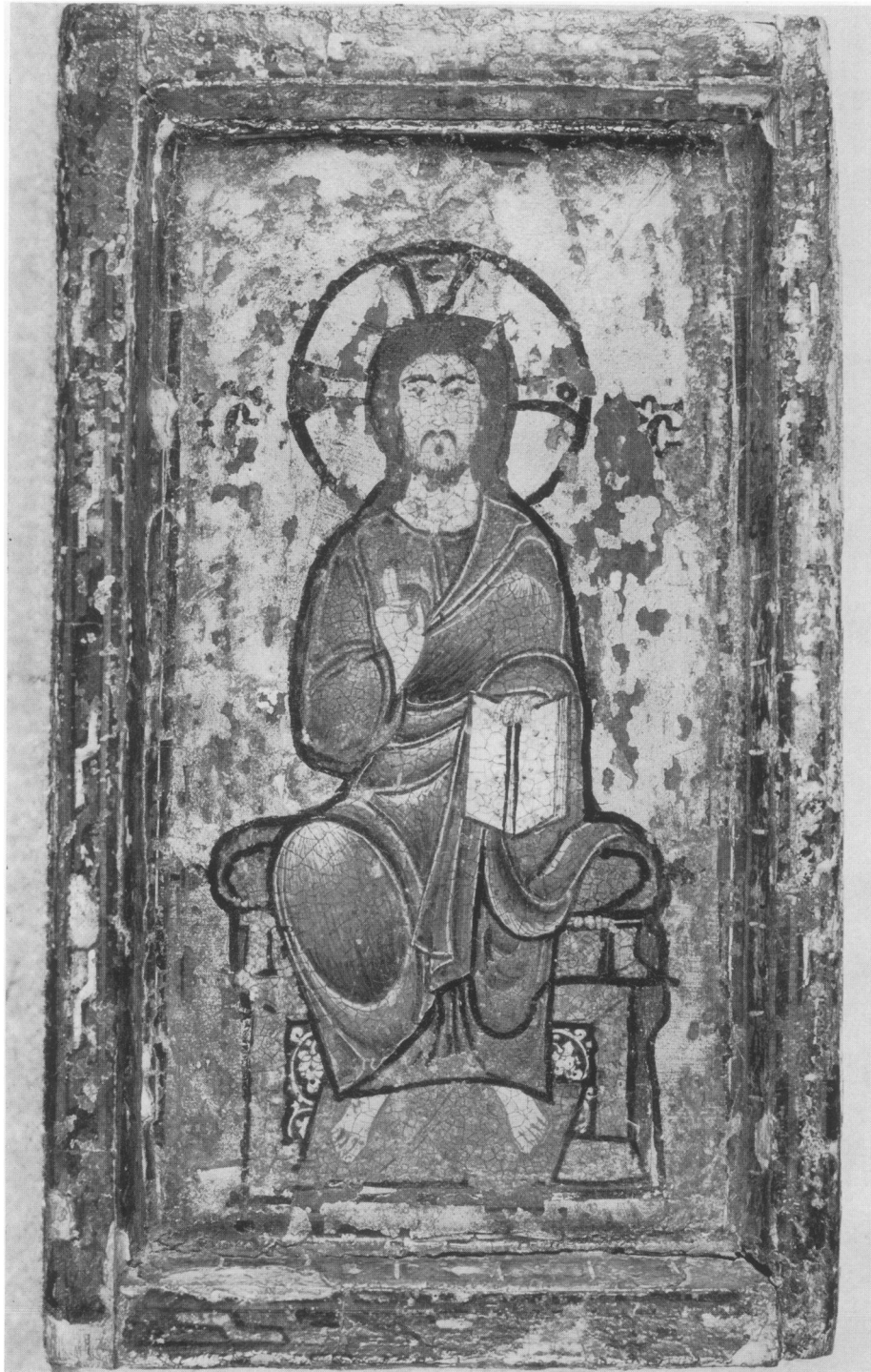
1.   Sinai. Icon, Christ Enthroned

3. London, British Museum. Cod. Lansdowne 383, Fol. 15r, Tree of Jesse

2. Nazareth, Church of the Annunciation. Capital,
Legend of St. Matthew

4. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam, detail, Deesis

7. London, British Museum. Cod. Egerton 1139, Fol. 8r, Crucifixion

5. Sinai. Icon, detail, Crucifixion

6. Sinai. Triptych, detail, Crucifixion

8.   Sinai. Icon, Six Saints

10. Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare. Cod. 6, Fol. 182v, Crucifixion

9. Sinai. Icon, detail, Crucifixion

13. Sinai. Triptych Wing, St. Theodore,
St. Sabbas, and St. Onouphrios

a.

b.

11.

a.

b.

12.

Sinai. Icon Frame, details, Busts of Saints

15. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Cod. 539, Fol. 109r, Last Judgment

14. Sinai. Icon, details, Last Judgment

17. Koimesis

Sinai. Triptych, Left Wing

16. Coronation of the Virgin

20. Princeton, University Library.
Cod. Garrett 2, Fol. 270v, detail, St. John
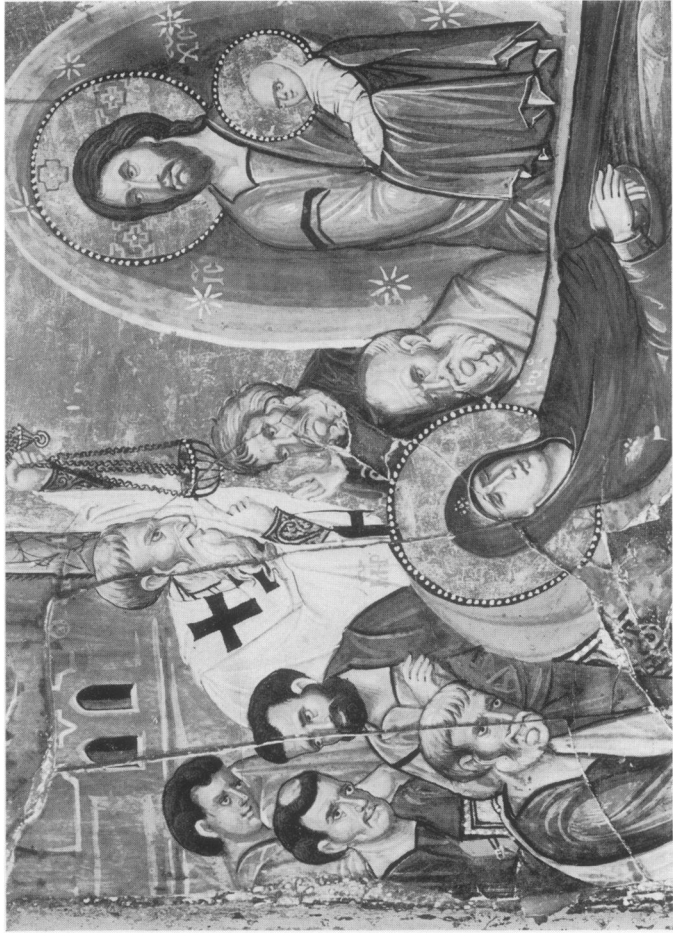
19. Detail

18. Sinai. Icon, Koimesis

22. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam, detail, Crucifixion

21. Bern, Historical Museum. Diptych, detail, Deposition from the Cross

24. Koimesis

Sinai. Iconostasis Beam, details

23. Nativity

26. Sinai. Double-faced Icon, detail, Adam and Eve from the Anastasis

25. Venice, Museo Correr. Panel, St. Andrew

27. Crucifixion

28. Anastasis

Sinai. Double-faced Icon, details
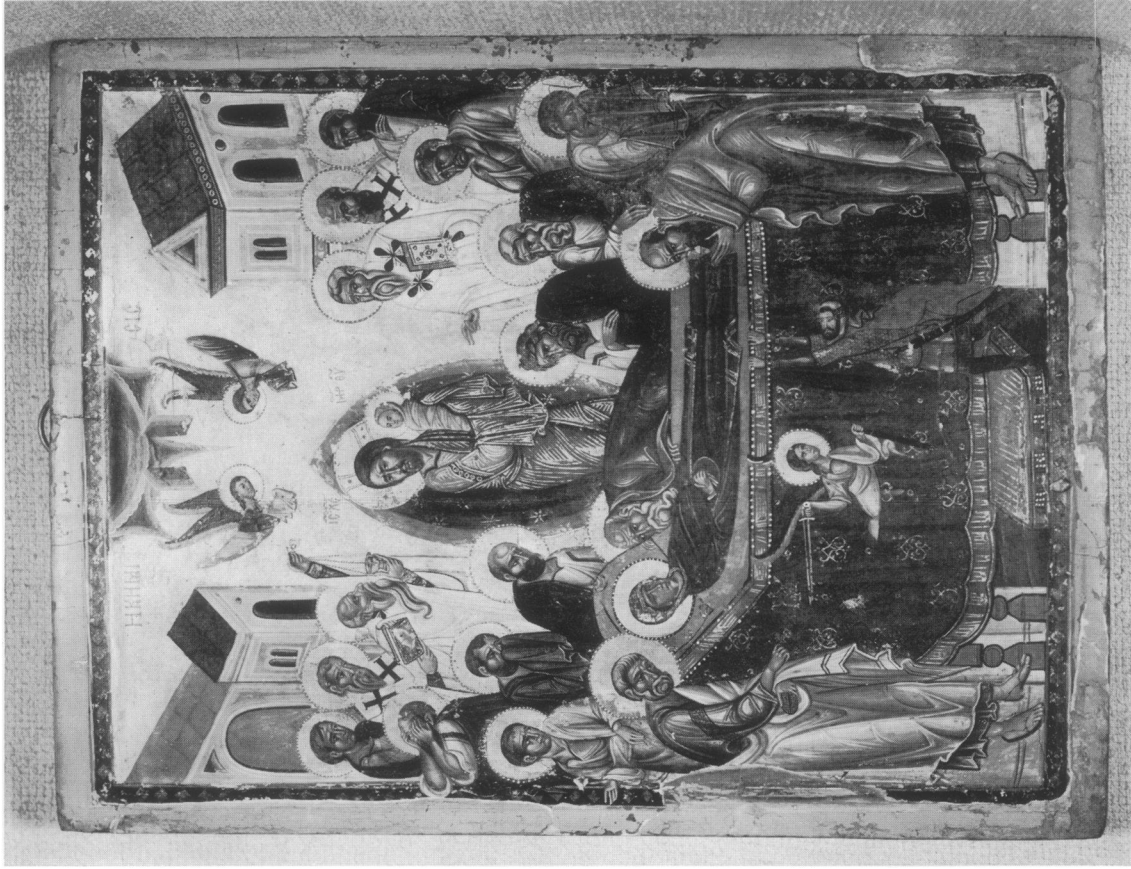
30. Detail

29.

Sinai. Icon, Koimesis

32. Sinai. Icon, Virgin between John the Baptist and Moses
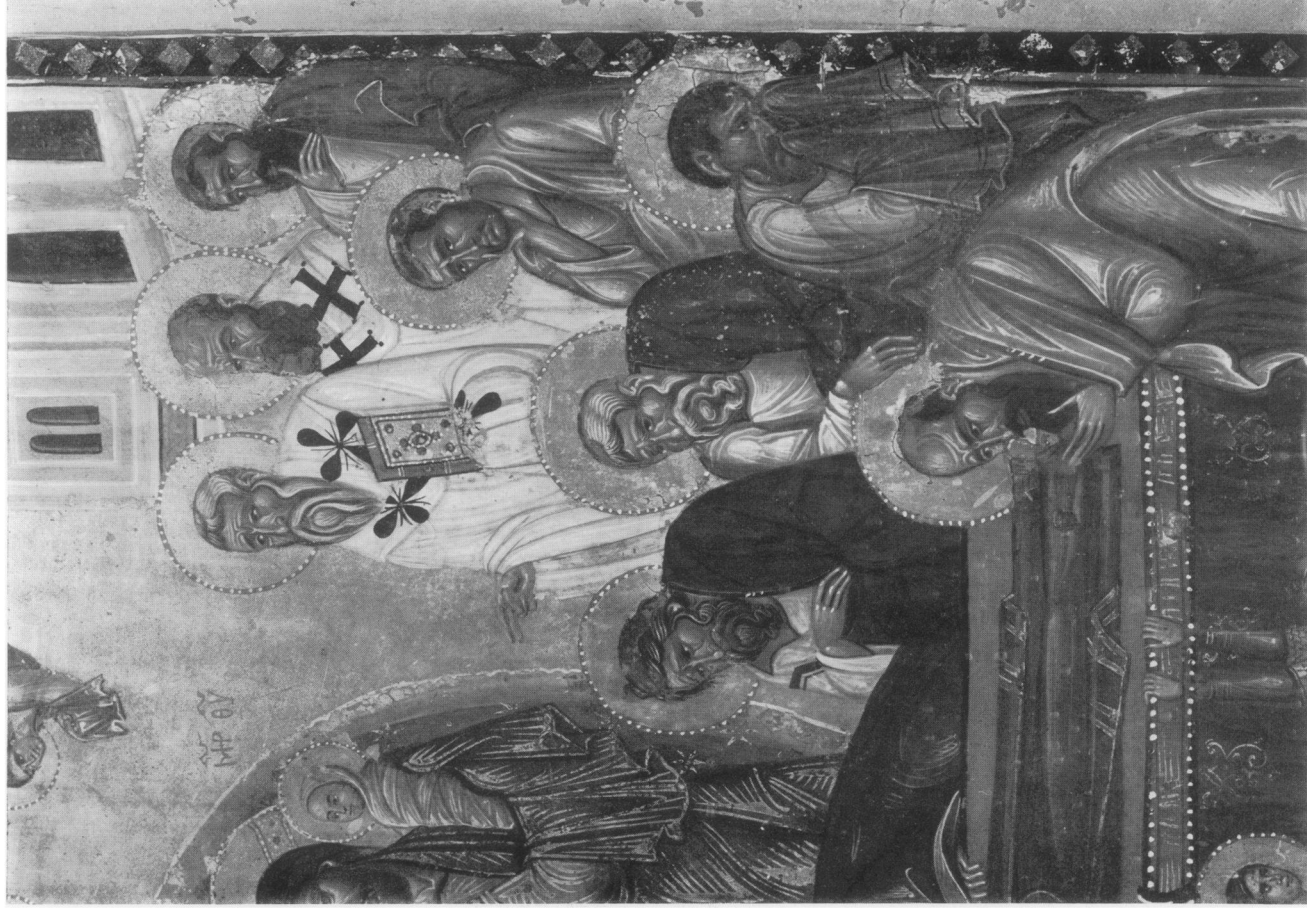
31. Sinai. Triptych Wings, St. Peter and St. Paul

34. Virgin and Child

Sinai. Diptych

33. St. Procopios

35. Virgin, Joachim, and Anna

36. St. Catherine, Constantine, and Helen

37. Moses

38. John the Baptist

39. John Climacus

40. St. Onouphrios

Sinai. Diptych, Frame, details

42. Gravina. Fresco, Virgin Enthroned

41. Sinai. Triptych, Center Panel, Virgin Enthroned

45. Gravina. Fresco, St. Basil

44. John the Baptist

Sinai. Triptych Wings

43. St. Nicholas

48. Sinai. Icon, St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Demetrius

47. Moutoulla. Fresco, St. Barbara

46. Sinai. Icon, St. Symeon and St. Barbara

50. St. Catherine and St. Marina

Sinai. Icons

49. St. Sergius

52. Grottaferrata. Icon, Virgin and Child

51. Cyprus, Hagios Chrysostomos. Icon, Archangel

53. Wolfenbüttel, Library. Cod. 61.2. Aug. oct., Fol. 78ᵛ, Sketches

54. Athens, National Library. Cod. 118, Fol. 109ʳ, St. Luke

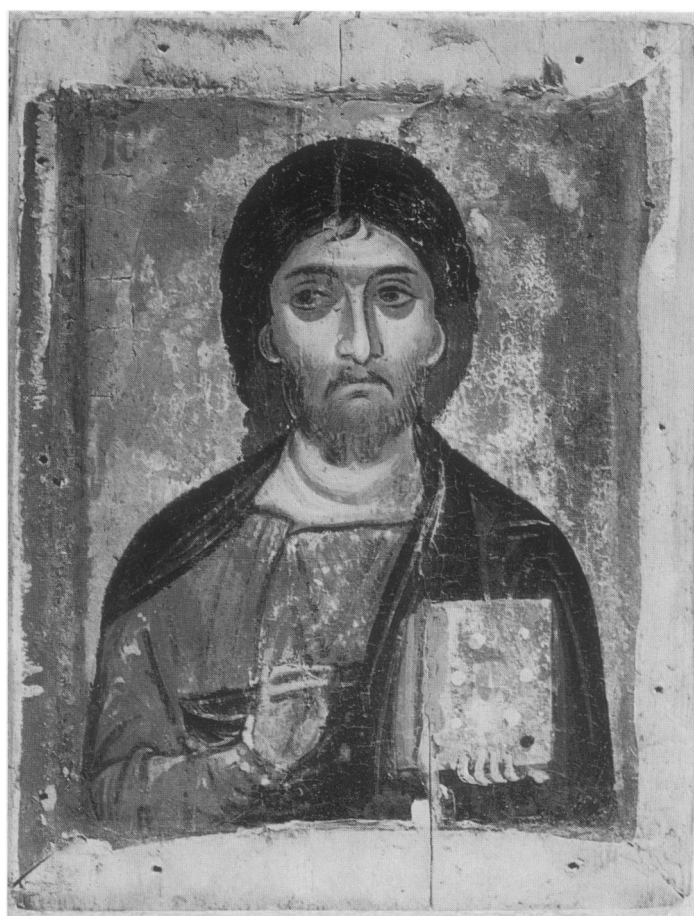55. Goslar, Rathaus. Gospel, detail, Annunciation to Zacharias

56. Fol. 178ᵛ, St. John

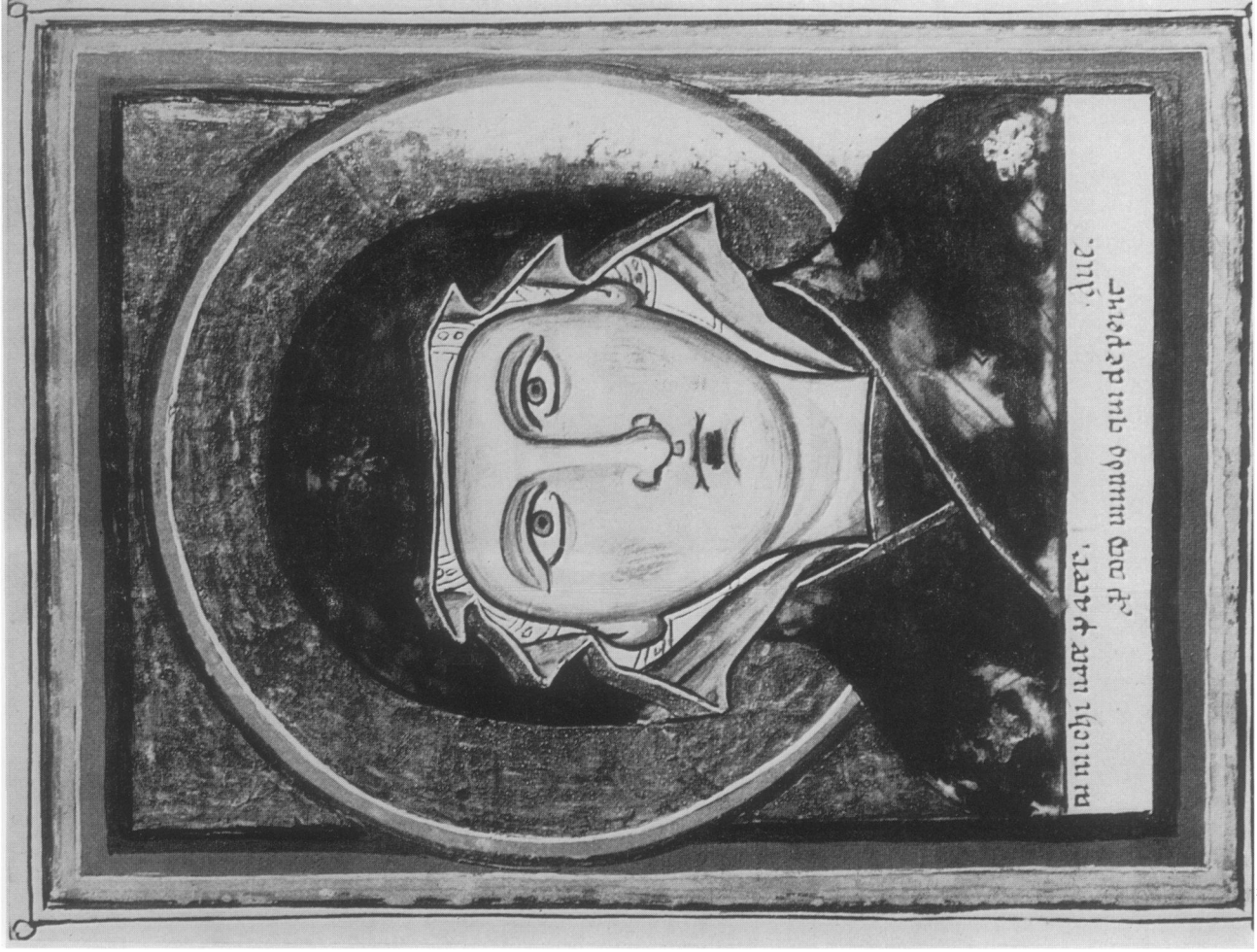57. Fol. 178ʳ, Christ and the Virgin

Princeton, University Library. Cod. Garrett 7

58. The Virgin

59. Christ

Sinai. Icons

61. Sinai. Icon, Virgin and Child

60. Donaueschingen. Cod. 309, Fol. 33v, Head of the Virgin

63. Sinai. Icon, St. Victor, St. Menas, and St. Vincent

62. Freiburg, Augustinermuseum. Model-book, Leaf

65. St. Theodore and St. Demetrius

Sinai. Icons

64. St. Theodore and St. George

68. Perugia, Pinacoteca Nazionale. Panel, detail, Virgin and Child

67.

Sinai. Icons, Virgin and Child

66.